



The Legacy of Judi Bari

BY DAVID BROWER

Judi Bari's life has ended much too soon. Seeing her work evolve over the years brought me continued hope and inspiration. Margaret Mead once wrote, "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has."

Judi's small stature belied her powers of influence, a bear in the forest, confident and strong. Consistently an ardent defender of ALL remaining old-growth redwoods, Judi's mantra remains the heart of the current Headwaters debate. Headwaters is a battle we cannot afford to lose. If we let those who are intent upon felling the remaining unprotected redwood groves win, the movement will have lost a historic opportunity to disable the forces threatening our natural heritage.

The wilderness advocates, local community activists and labor forces who embraced Judi's call to action were moved by her disdain for senseless destruction. These sometime disparate constituencies have greatly aided our efforts, without compromising our goals. We must continue to strengthen those alliances and demand an unconditional sanctuary for all the remaining old-growth redwood forest ecosystems.

Life on Earth is a precious and tenuous

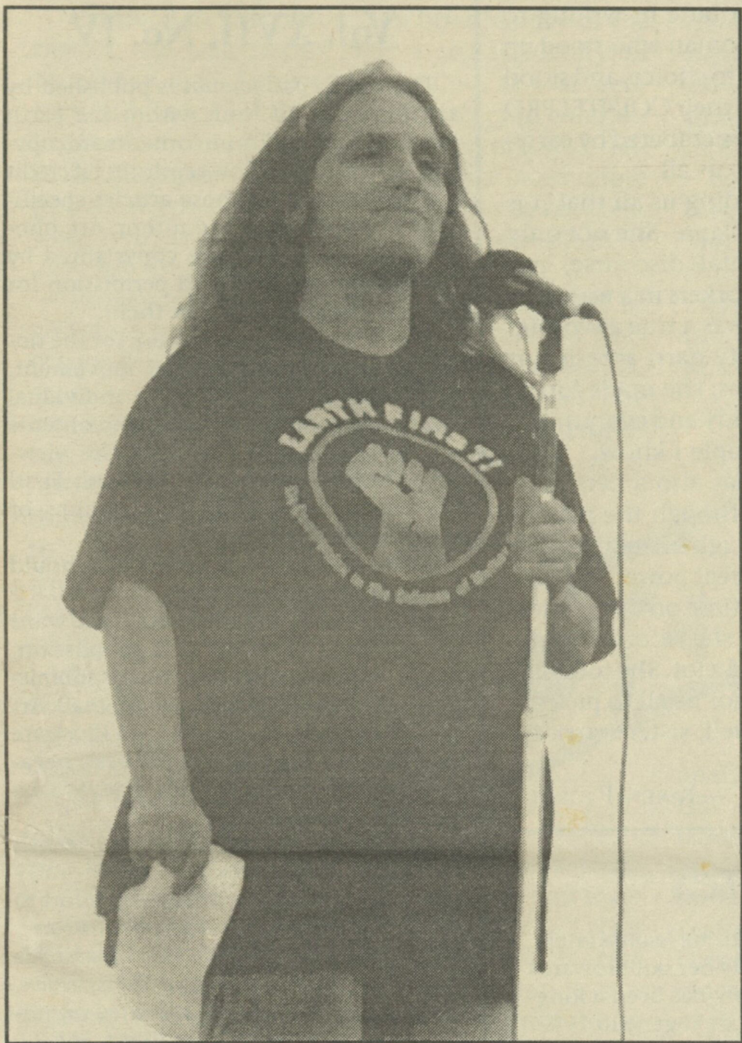


Photo by Tim Owen

Judi Bari at the September 15, 1996, Headwaters rally

experience and times like these remind us of the importance of remaining committed to that which is most meaningful in our lives. Judi always projected an unwavering commitment to her values and her continued urgings to affect apathy into action. We will miss her commitment and compassion, her strength, courage and conviction. We can honor her by sharing it. [For more tributes to Judi Bari, see page 14.]

THE EVICTION OF FAIRMILE

At 9:30 p.m. January 23, the long awaited eviction of the Fairmile camp, the longest running road protest site in England, began with a cordon being put around the site and climbers going up to cut the tree village walkways.

The Under Sheriff of Devon, Trevor Coleman, had hoped to find the camp virtually empty. Despite the surprise timing of the attack, however, there were 20-25 people in the trees and five people in the tunnels. This was not going to be a one day eviction! No work was done overnight but a serious cordon, including razor wire coils, was placed around the site and police dogs were present. Despite this, at least 15 people breached the police lines and joined their colleagues up the trees. Due to the fact that those in the trees kept their cool, the first people were not removed for quite awhile.

During this time, five masked pot holers and two "safety officers" began to shore up the first ten feet of the Big Mama tunnel network. Following the request in the last *Action Update* about tracking down the cavers that have been used in recent tunnel evictions, a tip-off has been received that they are hired by Peter Faulding at Specialist Rescue International of Redhill. Check out the accuracy of this information before acting on it. It took until 1 p.m. on January 26 before climbers had removed the last of the tree defenders who just happened to be someone previously employed as a Newbury security guard!

At this stage, the underground bailiffs had failed to breach even the first door in the Labyrinth. The tunnelers decided to issue demands which, if met, would mean that they would leave of their own

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A LUDDISM FOR TODAY

BY KIRKPATRICK SALE

It began on the night of November 4, cloudy but still not yet winter-cold, in the little village of Bulwell, some four miles north of Nottingham, England. A small band of men gathered in the darkness, blackened their faces or covered them with scarves, counted off in military style, hoisted their weapons—hammers, axes, swords and pistols—and marched off in a more-or-less soldierly fashion along back roads to their destination.

When they reached the house of a "master weaver" named Hollingsworth, they posted a guard to make sure no neighbors interfered with their work and suddenly forced their way inside through doors that gave way to their hammerblows. They set upon half a dozen weaving machines, new wide-lace looms that produced such shoddy goods at such a pace that one man could turn out the work of six—and thus had already done some 500 men out of work—and within a few minutes had destroyed them all. Fearing that Hollingsworth's wild cries from the upstairs bedroom would rouse the neighbors, they quickly scattered into the darkness. Not long after, they reassembled at the edge of town and responded in turn to a list of numbers called out by their leader. When each man was accounted for, a pistol was fired and they disbanded and headed for home.

A week later, on a Sunday night, the workers attacked again—only this time Hollingsworth was ready. In preparation for a new onslaught he had arranged for seven or eight of his workers and neighbors to stand watch with muskets over his last seven looms, and when the band of attackers approached the house they were met with a volley of shots. In the exchange of gunfire that followed one young man, a weaver named John Westley, was shot while tearing down the window shutters to force his way in and, according to a contemporary account, had just time to exclaim before he died, "Proceed, my brave fellows, I die with a willing heart!"

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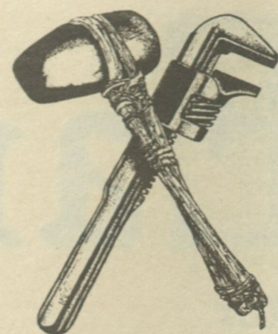
Photo by Alec Smart

Of the five protestors who scurried into the Big Mama tunnel, Undersheriff Coleman boasted it would only take two to three days to remove them—famous last words in what became the longest eviction operation in Britain this century.

EARTH FIRST!

NO COMPROMISE IN DEFENSE OF MOTHER EARTH

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Judi Bari, 1949-1997

At 6:45 a.m. on March 2, Judi Bari "fell into the sky," as one person put it. She was at home with family and friends, at her cabin in the woods outside Willits, California.

How to start? Judi, we will miss you tremendously. The movement is left with a huge crater, a hole that cannot be filled with another person. I will miss you tremendously. I can't imagine not being able to call you up and talk strategy, argue over tactics, catch up on each others' work.

Judi is irreplaceable because of her utter brilliance and because of the combination of things she was. She was a writer, an orator of enormous talent, an organizer. With her considerable skills of legal research and analysis, she became a paralegal by doing the lion's share of the work on the lawsuit against the FBI. She was a radio commentator/DJ. She was also an in-the-trenches organizer/activist. She not only made the speeches and did the organizing, she would draw the flyer, organize the mailings, make the phone calls, clip the articles, raise the money... When I was working on the Bear Lincoln case on the Round Valley Indian Reservation, she would clip articles from the newspaper for me, since it was in her county and I didn't have access to that press. With everything she had to do, she did the cut and paste job too. She also dubbed and sent me tapes from her radio show to use on Free Radio Berkeley. She didn't feel "above" any kind of work.

Within a few hours following Judi's passing to the other world, there was a sign in the window of the Mendocino Environmental Center, "Don't mourn, organize," which was exactly Judi's message. In her final weeks, she eschewed what she called the "schmaltz," the "puppy dog eyes" people looked at her with. She turned down interviews for human interest stories about her saying, "Tell them they don't get a live interview for an obituary." (I told her that I thought that's what they mean by irrepressible.) She did do the interviews with those that wanted to talk about the FBI lawsuit or the Headwaters Forest campaign. She felt she had a lot of work to do, and now she had to do it in a shorter period of time.

I was reminded of what she said after the bombing that nearly killed her in 1990. Within a couple of days, as she was hooked up in traction in a hospital bed, she made a cassette tape to send out to her friends and comrades organizing for Redwood Summer. After a message to her two daughters explaining why they couldn't see her in intensive care, she thanked all the Earth First!ers and movement people for the outpouring of support and then exhorted listeners to, "Remember where the real violence is being done—to the forest, not as much as to the organizers." She said she hoped people wouldn't be deterred from going out to defend the

trees by the terrorism that we all had to stand up to and ended with, "Please come. As soon as I'm out of here, I'll be there with you." And indeed she was.

It's really impossible to do a short tribute in writing to Judi. There's far too much to say. This woman who stood up for the trees, stood up for women's right to choice, and stood up to the fearsome power of the FBI and their COINTELPRO nefarious deeds; this woman must be remembered by carrying on the work that is so important to us all.

She stood up for the workers, reminding us all that it is the CEOs, not the loggers, who are to blame. She not only brought labor issues to environmental discourse, but brought environmental issues to the workers in a way they could relate to because they knew she was a true advocate.

She was not infallible. She was pretty darn abrasive at times. But she made fun of her mistakes; she made fun of herself. In fact, she made fun of everybody and everything. She was one of the most irreverent people I know.

Judi was a true revolutionary. She was also a person of great humor and this stayed with her through the pain of her cancer, as it had stayed with her through incredible pain after the bombing. She was a person of great power and that power stayed with her till the end of her time on this planet.

She left a lot behind. She wrote a lot, she recorded a lot, she spoke a lot, she sang a lot, she fiddled a lot. She touched and inspired so many people. It's time for us all to pick up what she left and carry on. Fare thee well, sister warrior.

¡Viva Judi Bari!

—KAREN PICKETT

Editor's Notes

There have been a lot of changes here at the *Journal* lately. Kimberly Dawn has left the staff to apply her skills towards fundraising and bison advocacy. Kimberly has been a long-term collective member since we moved to Eugene in 1993. We thank you, Kimba, and the bison thank you.

We have a new business manager and long-term collective member, Acasia Berry. Acasia comes to us from Katúah, and she has lots of organizing skills. Good-bye and thanks to Connie Ross who was our previous business manager.

There have also been a few changes to the paper. We have a new section tentatively entitled, "Bare Bones," which starts on page 25. (If you can think of a better name, let us know.) We also have a table of contents located on the back cover.

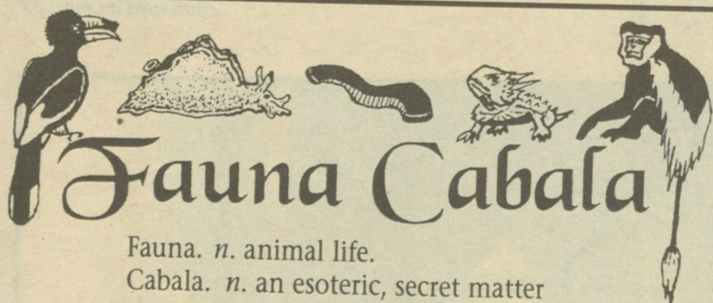
The biggest change is yet to come. By the time you read our next issue, we will have taken the leap and moved into a bigger office. With your continued subscriptions and donations we will be able to afford to keep our new office.

BY FAITH WALKER

arena, and larger objects such as snail shells surround it. The only function of bowers is for sexual display and mating, and the treasures that males expend so much energy obtaining are merely interior decorations. Females neither eat them nor use them in nest-building.

When a female enters a bower, the male grabs one of his more precious treasures in his bill and leaps about while fluffing feathers and fluttering wings to the beat of his loud courtship song. The female usually takes one look and leaves, but eventually she selects a male, mates and flies away to raise her young by herself. When not courting, a male repairs and refines his bower, attempts to demolish those of his neighbors or attempts to steal their blue objects, the scarcest and most desired of these being blue parrot feathers.

Females choose to mate with males who own high quality, ornate bowers, and who are able to defend them from destructive neighbors. Because bower-building is mastered through experience, these are older, dominant males. Thus, females use bowers to assess mate quality: the ability to amass and defend decorations indicates that a male is in good physical shape and has survived into relatively old age, traits that can be passed on to offspring.



Fauna Cabala

Fauna. *n.* animal life.

Cabala. *n.* an esoteric, secret matter or mysterious art.

The lives of satin bowerbirds (*Ptilonorhynchus violaceus*), like Bob Dylan's, are tangled up in blue. Males of this Australian species build elaborate ground structures, called bow-

ers, consisting of two parallel walls of sticks (painted with saliva) on a platform base. The north end is oriented toward the midday sun and the platform, which becomes the display arena, is layered with bright yellow leaves and straw.

The male ensures that the sun falling on this display arena creates a startling glow by trimming the leaves above and by decorating it with the rare, shiny and primarily blue objects that females find irresistible. Blue feathers, blue and yellow flowers and insect parts adorn the central



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Submissions are welcomed and should be typed or clearly printed. Send a SASE if you would like them returned. If you want confirmation of receipt of a submission, please request it. We encourage submissions on Macintosh disks or via e-mail. Art or photographs are desirable to illustrate articles and essays. (Prints are best, negatives are good, slides are fair.) They will be returned if requested.

All submissions are edited for length and clarity. If an article is significantly edited, we will make a reasonable effort to contact the author prior to publication.

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SCHEDULE

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April 10

END CAPITALIST DOMINANCE

BY STEFAN WRAY

In the literature and propaganda produced as part of the End Corporate Dominance (ECD) campaign, there are two important words besides corporate that begin with the letter "c" which need to be defined and integrated into an analysis of corporate dominance. They are "capitalism" and "class."

The last issue of the *Earth First! Journal* (Brigid 1997) contains an ECD insert. One side includes a section listing relevant media, organizational resources and two texts. The first text is titled "Doomed to Extinction" and the second is "What's left for Direct Action? Democracy!"

"Doomed to Extinction" is a brief history of the rise of the corporation and a social history of resistance. T.G. Tomson argues that, as 19th century Luddism provided a useful strategy in combating the technological mechanization of industrializing England, "today, Luddism has even more potential power as people recognize the corporation itself, as a heinous destructive contraption fit only for the trash bin."

"What's left for Direct Action?" is a critique of getting bogged down in dead-end regulatory processes which, according to author Jane Anne Morris, are rules written by and for corporate interests. She emphasizes the need to take a fresh look at corporate power to get at root problems. "If we rewrite the laws that DEFINE corporations, we won't have to waste so much time in futile attempts to REGULATE them."

What both authors don't do is define and describe corporations in relation to capitalism and class. In brief, the corporation is a capitalist organization that has come to dominate in late 20th-century, advanced-technological capitalism. The corporate CEOs and their friends in government are members of an elite capitalist class that maintains power over the rest of the populace and nature. Capitalism is the economic system that dominates. Corporations are the most sophisticated organizational form within capitalism. Can we be critical of corporations, but remain silent about capitalism?

In Morris' piece, the words "capitalism" and "class" do not surface. In Tomson's piece "capitalism" does appear, but in a confusing way, "on today's battle torn capitalist moonscape." More concretely, Tomson concludes by stating, "Achieving a world free of corporate capitalism should be the goal of ALL grassroots movements, and therefore we must be proactive by building the democratic community-based institutions necessary to cleanup the mess left by the dinosaurs." (He refers

to corporations as dinosaurs.)

This call for a "world free of corporate capitalism" is ambiguous. Is it a call for the elimination of capitalism or merely a call for the elimination of one variant of capitalism, namely "corporate capitalism"? Either way it is unclear. But this lack of clarity on the relationships between critiques of corporations and critiques of capitalism is not unique to Tomson's article. The ECD campaign as a whole has not articulated this very well. There appears to be an aversion to bringing an understanding of capitalism and even more so, of class, into the discourse on corporations.

Within some radical environmental or ecological tendencies a critique of capitalist domination is firmly integrated into an overarching radical critique of society. The social ecology of Bookchin is a prime example of this. One can find other examples in *Red and Green* and *Green Anarchist*.

Before moving on, a definition of capitalism may be instructive. In the autonomist Marxist tradition (the school of thought that has veered far away from orthodox Marxism but still Marxist views

of the 1970s, largely made up of individuals from the white, middle class, did not articulate an analysis of class. But since the early 1980s, class differentiation has grown dramatically. Increasingly in the 1990s, as corporate-capitalist elites proportionally control more wealth, as the middle class shrinks and as the ranks of the impoverished swell, the reintroduction of the concept of class or the consciousness of class divisions has emerged more and more in political discourse on a variety of fronts.

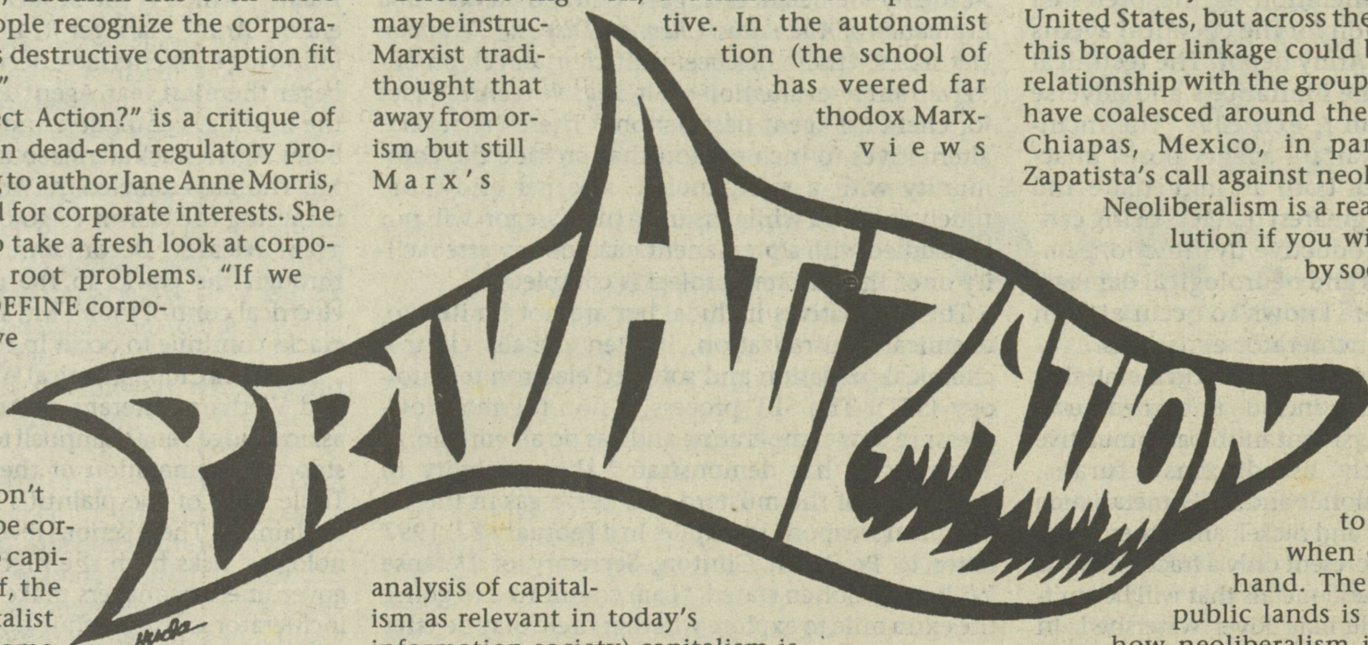
The ECD campaign, by its focus on corporations and corporate elites, has an opportunity to reinvigorate the analysis and understanding of the notion of class within the radical environmental movement, just as it has an opportunity to place a critique of corporations within the context of a broader critique of capitalism. By doing this the ECD campaign could open the door for alliances with similarly minded struggles, not only in the United States, but across the globe. An example of this broader linkage could be a stronger working relationship with the groups and individuals that have coalesced around the Zapatista struggle in Chiapas, Mexico, in particular around the Zapatista's call against neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism is a reaction, a counterrevolution if you will, to the gains made by social struggles throughout the first two-thirds of this century. Current neoliberal policies, being enforced across the globe, are an attempt to return to the days when capitalists had a free

hand. The privatization of our public lands is a perfect example of how neoliberalism is playing out in the environmental field. Contextualizing corporate dominance as a manifestation of neoliberalism would be another way to build a foundation for forming alliances with other similar struggles.

To conclude, while the End Corporate Dominance campaign is a needed direction for *Earth First!*ers and others, by expanding the critique of corporations to include an analysis and understanding of capitalism, class and finally neoliberalism, the ECD campaign can develop a more overarching, radical, social critique and therefore can create a basis for forming stronger alliances with other radical, social struggles, not only in the United States but across the globe.

Stefan Wray is a graduate student in the Journalism Department at the University of Texas at Austin. He is about to complete his thesis titled "The Drug War and Information Warfare in Mexico." He participates in *Earth First!* and *Accion Zapatista*.



analysis of capitalism as relevant in today's information society) capitalism is an economic system that imposes work and, as such, is a system that imposes social control and dominance. In this economic system, there is a class that engages in the imposition of work, social control and dominance, namely the capitalist class, and a class that succumbs to this imposition—everybody else.

The corporation is merely a vehicle, a bureaucratic instrument, used by the capitalist class to organize its imposition of work, social control and dominance in the most efficient way possible. The corporation is a tool by which the capitalist class continues to consolidate and concentrate power and wealth.

In the 1960s, at the height of post World War II economic expansion, class divisions and polarizations in the United States were nowhere near as pronounced as they are today. This may partly explain why the early environmental movement

Fungi Forever

Dear Shit for Brains,
Let's hear it for Kingdom Fungi!

—CANYON WALKER

Resist Hippies on Sticks

I wish you folks would change your name. It's not that I think most of what you do is wrong (only ineffective and misguided). It's just that EF! w/out Dave Foreman, Howie Wolke, Rod Mondt, etc is not consistent with the values EF! was founded upon. Couldn't you change your name to the Hippies on a Stick Resistance Movement or something like that.

—MTHEINRICH@AOL.COM

Bison Action

This is my second letter to you on the subject of the bison slaughter in Yellowstone National Park.

I was pleased to see your bison story in the February-March 1997 *Earth First! Journal*. But the article itself was really wimpy! I could have found the write-up in any establishment newspaper. And the suggested actions, lawsuits and writing the

government officials who's job it is to protect the cattle industry (\$) is ridiculous. The lawsuits have already been won by the government agencies and all the officials listed would not be in those positions unless they were sympathetic to cattle interests (\$).

The reason I support EF! is simple—direct action! (not lawsuits and letters). Who will take the action and organize DIRECT ACTION! I'll be there, tell me where or when.

Enclosed are two newspaper articles which document Yellowstone Superintendent Michael Finley's unilateral decision to first stop slaughtering bison and then two weeks later his unilateral decision to resume slaughter. Let's wake up, about 1/3 of all the wild bison in Yellowstone have been slaughtered this winter. Why? Because the cattle industry say it may be possible for brucellosis to be passed from bison to cattle but—there are no documented cases of this ever happening. Therefore the government officials have slaughtered 1/3 of the Yellowstone bison herd because of

cattle industry fears alone (\$).

Let's do something—not talk!
Very upset,

—H. JACK DAVIS

Editor's response:

If you want to do direct action there are several options. Contact Bison Action Group at 4880 1/2 S. 19th St., Bozeman, MT 59715; (406) 589-9141. Also, Wild Rockies EF!, POB 9286, Missoula, MT 59807 is calling for a slaughter sab—gather your affinity groups and go prepared. The Bison Advocacy Project is a single-issue, nonprofit which can be reached at 1519 Cooper St., Missoula, MT 59802; (406) 549-5733; e-mail bison@wildrockies.org. They have lots of information and sponsor rallies, PR campaigns, events and media stunts.

These groups are using every nonviolent means necessary to stop the slaughter. Contact any of them if you want to help.

—LP

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Army Plans to Burn Nerve Gas Stockpile

BY MARK BROWN AND KAYRN JONES

On February 7, 1997, the Oregon Environmental Quality Commission (EQC) made its final decision to accept the United States Army's application to build a chemical weapons incineration facility near Hermiston, Oregon. Despite evidence that incineration is the worst option for destroying the nation's obsolete chemical weapons stockpile stored at the Umatilla Army Depot, the EQC has given the green light for the Army and Raytheon Corporation to spend \$1.3 billion of taxpayer money to construct five incinerators. Apparently they are willing to sacrificing public health and ecosystem integrity for corporate profits and questionable military agendas.

Widespread opposition by citizen groups, environmental organizations, health organizations and Native Americans has not deterred the Army from designating incineration as the preferred method of detoxification for the chemical agents stored at the Umatilla Army depot. The technical literature describing the limitations and adverse impacts of incineration is extensive. The incineration of chemical warfare agents poses unacceptable health risks of both an immediate and long term nature—the greatest dangers being cancer, birth defects, reproductive dysfunction, immune system disorders and neurological damage. These adverse effects are known to occur at even very low exposure to incinerator emissions.

Some of the quantifiable chemicals and metals that will be released at Umatilla include unburned nerve gas and mustard agent; persistent and bioaccumulative organochlorines such as dioxins, furans, chloromethane, vinyl chloride and PCBs; metals such as lead, mercury, copper and nickel; and other toxics such as arsenic. These represent only a fraction of the thousands of chemicals and metals that will be emitted throughout the Columbia River watershed. In addition to emissions, highly toxic ashes and effluents will be created, posing a significant health threat.

Contrary to what incineration advocates claim, the stockpile at Umatilla has small potential for explosion or chain reaction as a result of decay. The danger is not nearly as grave as the Army proclaims. According to a 1994 General Accounting Office report, the National Research Council's original estimate of 17.7 years of safe storage is erroneous; the actual figure is 120 years. In addition, the Army has repeatedly ignored the option of reconfiguring the stockpile (separating the agents from the energetics and propellants), which would eliminate the question of safe storage entirely. The Army has the knowledge and capability to accomplish this quickly, and has testified to this in 1994 Senate hearings. By ignoring this logical option, the Army has been able to capitalize on the public fear of a spontaneous decay explosion, forcing incineration as the only option.

Even a cursory glance at the facts shows that there is no justification for incineration. The National Academy of Sciences report entitled *Review and Evaluation of Alternative Chemical Disposal Technologies* states, "there has been sufficient development to warrant re-evaluation of alternative technologies for chemical agent destruction." There are several alternatives to incineration that provide the community with a safer, mobile, cheaper and more timely solution while insuring that Oregon will not be saddled with a permanent hazardous waste facility once this ill-fated project is complete.

The alternatives include, but are not limited to, chemical neutralization, molten metals, electrochemical oxidation and solvated electron technology (SET). The SET process is non-thermal, low-pressure, low-temperature and has no air emissions. The process has demonstrated the capability to destroy all of the mustard and nerve gas in the US chemical weapons stockpile. In a February 27, 1997 letter to President Clinton, Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen stated, "I am committed to going the extra mile to explore whether there may be safer and more environmentally sound alternatives to incineration." It appears that everyone involved in

this national issue is looking for an alternative to incineration, everyone except the Army and the Oregon Department of Environmental Quality.

Recently, the Oregon Chemical Demilitarization Citizens Advisory Commission was told by the Hermiston Fire Chief, Jim Stearns, that in case of a chemical weapons release at the Umatilla Army Depot "Don't call 911." Why? Because the Hermiston Fire Department has not received personal protective body suits, respirators, air monitors, mobile decontamination equipment, antidote kits or adequate medical training. This begs the question, if the Army is so concerned that the Umatilla Depot is dangerously close to leaking live agents, thus the need to incinerate before a disaster occurs, why have they done so little to help prepare the community for the impending disaster?

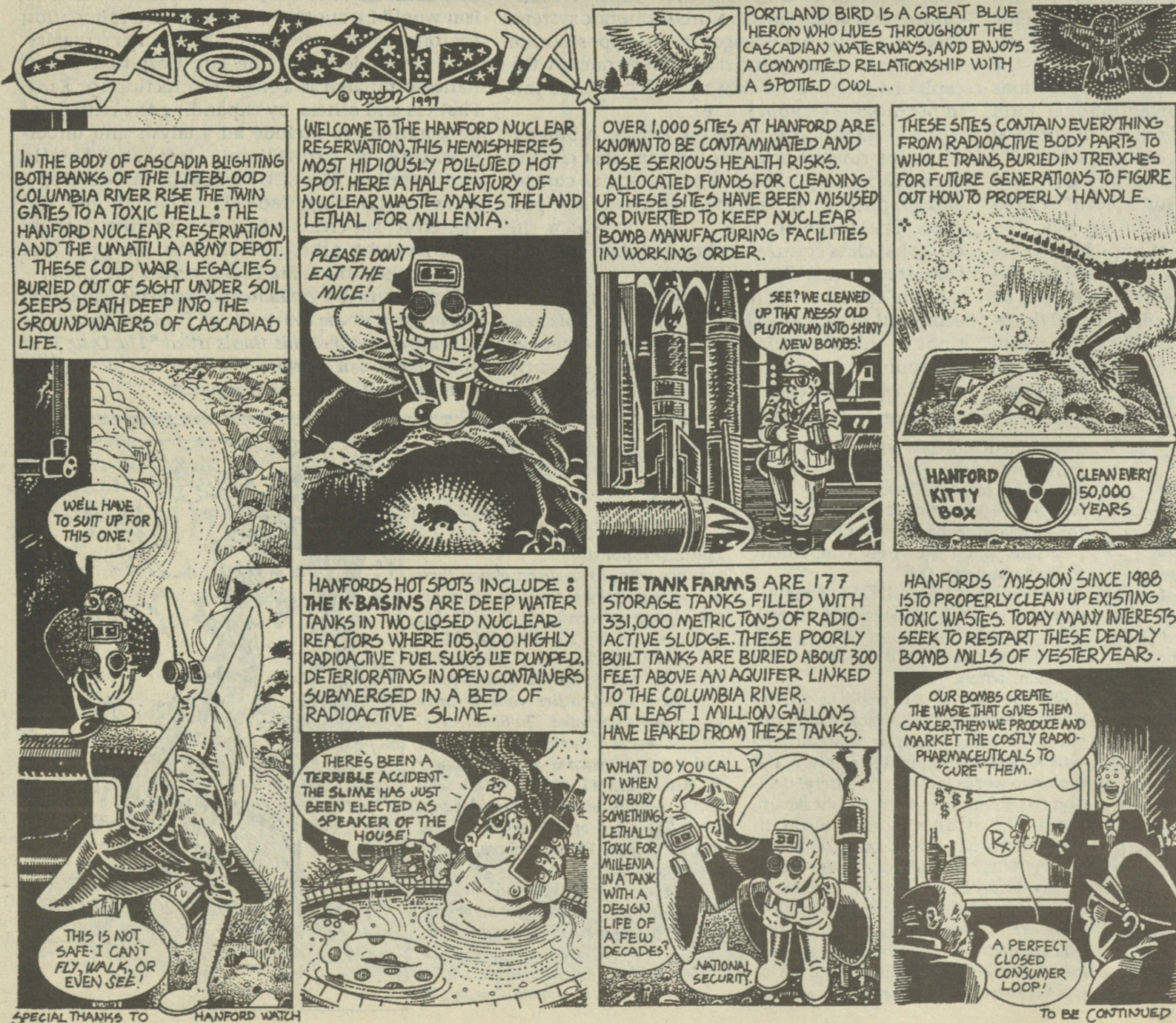
Testifying at a hearing on an environmental challenge to the Toole, Utah Chemical Weapons Disposal Facility, which is the model for the Umatilla incinerator, Army manager Tim Thomas admitted the following incidents have occurred since incineration began there last year. Agent detection has occurred in the heating, ventilation and air conditioning vestibules. Agent stack alarms sound once to twice a week. Mr. Thomas admitted the Army doesn't know what is causing the alarms to go off but claimed it is not agent releases. Decontamination fluid has leaked through the cracks in the concrete floor into an electrical control room. Mr. Thomas confirmed that cracks continue to occur in the floors of the facility.

The Sierra Club, Chemical Weapons Working Group and Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation are asking Judge Tena Campbell to issue an injunction to stop the incineration of the chemical weapons at Toole. One of the plaintiffs' attorneys, Bob Guild, explained, "These serious revelations about the technologies' risks from the highest plant officials and government managers make it clear that the Toole incinerator must be shut down to protect human health and the environment." Based on a review of Army data from Toole incineration operations, Pat

Costner, a senior research scientist with Greenpeace, concluded, "the reports clearly indicate presence of GB agent in stack gases." Costner also criticized the incinerator's monitoring system saying, "The Army does not have a reliable system of detection or quantification of nerve agent."

In addition, the Army prototype facility, JACADS, located in the South Pacific, has been a case study in unsafe technology. According to the Army's own data, a fire, an explosion, 32 internal releases of nerve agent and two nerve gas releases into the atmosphere have resulted in EPA fines totaling more than \$100,000. The facility is 450 percent over budget and had over 30 Resource Conservation and Recovery Act non-compliances in 1995 alone.

There is still time to stop this tragedy from occurring. Please call or write Oregon Senators Gordon Smith and Ron Wyden and urge them to listen to their constituency. Tell them to demand an immediate halt to the incineration facility at the Umatilla Army Depot. Write: United States Senate, Washington, DC 20510; (800) 972-3524.



Cold-Blooded Cloners

BY THERESA KINTZ

All new technologies are introduced in terms of their Utopian possibilities. The downside of the story is left for a later generation to discern and experience, when the technology is much more difficult to dismantle.

—JERRY MANDER

Imagine, if you will, the following scenario. An elite group of engineers and political leaders holds a public meeting to discuss an ethical dilemma posed to society by a recent technological innovation. The engineers profess, "It will improve everyone's life and our society will be able to accomplish more than we ever dreamed." But, they advise, "the downside is that 40,000 members of our community will have to be killed each year for it to work."

Would an ethical society choose to adopt this new technology? It already has. Since the automobile was invented over three million humans and countless wild creatures have been killed by our society's transportation method of choice. If the turn-of-the-century innovators had foreseen the consequences of the new technology, would their informed decision have been any different?

A choice must now be made to condemn or condone the latest technological innovation sending ethical chills through the global consciousness, a discovery whose potential impact on society's future is being compared by some ethicists to the development of the nuclear bomb.

On February 22, Dr. Ian Wilmut, an embryologist at the Roslin Institute in Edinburgh, Scotland shocked the world with the announcement that he had replaced the genetic material of a sheep's egg with DNA from an adult sheep, creating the first successful clone of an adult animal. The procedure involved the extraction of the genetic material-containing nucleus of a sheep's egg, an initial step that was first accomplished in the 1950s. Wilmut then took mammary cells from a six-year-old adult sheep, and for the first time, successfully fused the egg cell with one of the adult cells. The two cells merged and began to grow and divide. The clone embryo was then implanted into a third sheep who gave birth to the lamb, called Dolly, in July.

A week after Wilmut's cloning success was made public, the Oregon Regional Primate Research Center reported they had used the same nuclear transfer procedure to clone two rhesus monkeys born in August. The report that cloning had been accomplished with primates prompted President Clinton to announce a ban on federal spending for human cloning research, and he "strongly urged" the private sector to halt such research until the matter could be studied by the National Bioethics Advisory Board. The scientists involved have all denied even thinking about human cloning, but biotechnology industry

analysts are quick to point out that such a ban will be "unpoliceable."

Unlike the special materials and devices required for atom-smashing, the standard laboratory facility contains all of the equipment necessary to clone humans. Researchers are not likely to be dissuaded by occasional, disorganized outbursts of negative public opinion (or a few bioethicists)—especially because big business urges genetic engineers on with generous salaries in return for lucrative exclusive patents. Tolerance of genetic research is secured by the scientists who continually recite claims that it will lead to discoveries which eventually eradicate every form of human pestilence, from AIDS and alcoholism to diabetes and depression.

Biotechnology is currently a \$7.6 billion a year international industry and analysts predict the market will grow to \$18.5 billion a year by 2000.

Beneath each of these endeavors lies a barely concealed contempt for unaltered life and nature, as well as for the people who are expected to endure the mistakes, purchase the results and live with the consequences, whatever those may be. It is a contempt disguised by terms of bamboozlement, like bottom line, progress, needs, costs and benefits, economic growth, jobs, realism, research, and knowledge, words that go undefined and unexamined.

—DAVID W. ORR

Research at the Roslin Institute where Dolly was born is focused on producing "transgenic" animals, primarily genetically-engineered, domesticated mammals with milk that has pharmacological properties deemed beneficial to humans with certain diseases. The current market for such products is about \$200 million a year.

Biotechnology companies are now racing to develop new breeds of transgenic mammals with organs suitable for transplant into humans. Wilmut's success in cloning an adult sheep is being called a giant step closer to attaining the goal of "turning animals into drug factories."

The cloning of the sheep represents a milestone in genetic research, leading to renewed calls for consideration of the implications of the science.

This is a women's issue. Concerns are significant about who will have control over the power that this knowledge generates. Oddly enough, an important point has been largely ignored by ethicists so far—human cloning would require a woman's egg and womb to carry the clone to term. This potentially represents the most sophisticated form of exploitation ever perpetrated on women. Will women, who have the inherent biological power to say no to human cloning, also have the political power?

Cloning is also an animal liberation issue. The "finest cuts of meat," "the perfect leather handbags" and essentially anything made from animals could be cultivated if cloning is eventually mastered. Obvi-

ously, the animals involved in cloning research have no power, and levels of animal exploitation can be expected to reach new heights.

One of the arguments used to justify current cloning research is the potential for "saving" endangered species. There has been talk about creating endless supplies of breeding populations of near-extinct species through cloning—a notion that could someday be used to undermine a law like the Endangered Species Act. Why be overly concerned about protecting populations of animals in their natural habitats when you can just make more of them?

The only thing that is predictable about the evolution of cloning research is that the eventual outcomes



are totally unpredictable. Things will probably end up even more screwed up than we could ever imagine.

Our society is characterized by an inability to leave anything in nature alone. Every piece of land, every creature, every mineral, every growing plant, every mountain, every inch of desert is examined for its potential contribution to commercial development and to the expansion of technological society... the last two relatively undeveloped wildernesses are space and the genetic structure of life... Meanwhile, organized resistance groups are slow to realize that space and genetics are wilderness issues at all.

—JERRY MANDER

Additionally, cloning is a wilderness issue. Will anything be considered "wild" anymore after humans perceive themselves as having acquired the very power of creation?

We all have an obligation to resist society's acceptance of this new technology. Find out if commercial or academic institutions in your area are conducting genetic research. Investigate and let them know your concerns. Bring their work to the public's attention.

Modern philosophers talk about paradigm shifts, critical changes in worldview that occur when a chain of events leads society to question traditional, fundamental beliefs about the nature of existence. The science of genetics is causing a paradigm shift. The question now is how those of us who realize that a downside is inevitable can make our voices from and for the wilderness heard.

Wolves... and Poodles

A pack of wild wolves to **Representatives Nita Lowey (D, NY) and Christopher Shay (R, CT)** for introducing another bill in Congress to end the use of steel jaw leg-hold traps. It is time, once and for all, to end this barbaric, cruel and unnecessary practice.

A big howl to **Superior Court Judge William Cahill** who threw out Mitsubishi's \$137 million contract to build a people-mover at San Francisco International Airport on the grounds that the city's Human Rights Commission has ultimate power to decide whether a city contractor fits human rights guidelines. **San Francisco** has an ordinance which prevents it from contracting with corporations that do business with Burma's fascist dictatorship.

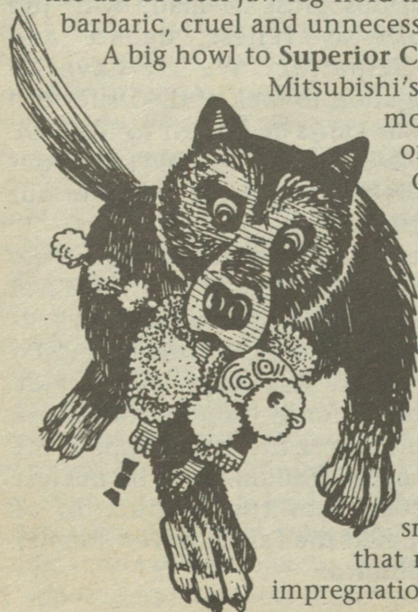
People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) gets a liberated wolf for urging their members to infiltrate photo contests meant for the most original wearer of a (cow's) milk mustache. Advocating a good smear of Toffuti above the lip, PETA proclaims that milk is unhealthy for humans and frequent impregnation of dairy cows shortens the cows' lives.

A mangy poodle to **The Nature Conservancy**, which recently came out with a report that found no extinctions of species in Washington and few losses throughout the Northwest. Have they ever heard of the wolf, grizzly, spotted owl, Umpqua Cutthroat trout or other salmonids?

And while we're at it, poodles to the self-proclaimed "four most dynamic US environmental groups" **Rainforest Action Network, Sierra Club, Natural Resources Defense Council and Greenpeace** for being so sluggish to announce their campaign to save the ancient redwoods just this February. It's about time!

McDonalds is once again trying to get away with reformist greenwashing of its image. The company announced last fall a new line of food containers that would dissolve "almost as soon as they hit the landfill" and "which lend themselves to composting." Pukey the poodle says their packaging stinks.

A bite on the ankle to **Hormel Foods**, makers of SPAM. No laughing matter, Hormel is interested in nuclear food irradiation technology. "There's only one thing worse than SPAM... Irradiated SPAM."



Dismantlement as a pretense for weapons development CLEANUP FARCE AT HANFORD

BY PAIGE KNIGHT

Hanford... the name conjures up different reactions, usually perfunctory statements from the average citizen in the Pacific Northwest. "Oh, isn't that place closed yet?" is perhaps the most common one. Hanford nuclear site is a large tract of land in southeastern Washington—560 square miles containing the largest area of polluted land in the US, one of the vast tracts of the Columbia Basin shrub-steppe ecosystems, with incredible plumes of radioactive and chemical contaminants moving towards the Columbia River, and the home of the last native salmon-spawning beds on the last free flowing stretch of the river, the Hanford Reach.

Production of plutonium has stopped at Hanford. The last plutonium reactor was closed in 1987. Slowly, especially with Hazel O'Leary as Secretary of Energy, Hanford's mission has shifted away from bomb production. O'Leary stated in 1992 that the government had a moral obligation to refocus on the cleanup of the widespread contamination at Department of Energy (DOE) sites like Hanford. Hanford's mission was specifically changed to cleanup, with big dreams of turning Hanford and the Tri-cities into a technological Mecca to advance cleanup technologies.

So where are we today, in early 1997, after billions have been spent on cleanup? Progress is beginning to show. The K-Basins near the Columbia, full of corroding spent-fuel have been on an aggressive cleanup track. Pump and treat projects on some of the worst plumes are slowing down the inevitable contamination of the river. We have begun to have more access to what were once "secret" files and behind-the-scenes decisions to which the public was not privy.

But, each year Congress has tightened the cleanup budget for Hanford in an attempt to reform abuses by contractors that have cost the taxpayers millions, if not billions, through waste. The Start I and II treaties signed by Bush and Yeltsin in 1991 started us on the road to weapons dismantlement and brought to public attention the tremendous plutonium and uranium stockpiles and residues in facilities throughout the weapons' complex. This brought us a plethora of Environmental Impact Statements on proposals to cleanup, consolidate, store and dispose of the tons of waste and excess weapons materials.

But suddenly, with all the alternatives of what to do with these most toxic of substances, bureaucrats and scientists have decided to "burn" excess plutonium in reactors, which is seen by many who follow these issues as an attempt to revive the flailing nuclear industry. We face the dilemma of disposing of all the waste produced around the complex over the last 50 years. Shall we shove it into the hands of the unwilling Nevadans while we continue to produce more? Hanford is even considered in almost every EIS as a possible site for nuclear wastes.

At the same time, the DOE and the weaponeers have decided that we need more tritium to up the amps in our current stockpile of warheads. Tritium, a radioactive gas, boosts the destructive power of nuclear bombs! It decays at the rate of 5.5 percent per year and must be replenished, either by recycling usable tritium from existing warheads or by producing more. Enter Hanford.

The Fast Flux Test Facility (FFTF), a sodium-cooled reactor (a la the Fermi Reactor in Detroit in the 1960s which never got off the ground because of a near meltdown), was built at Hanford between 1969 and 1973 at

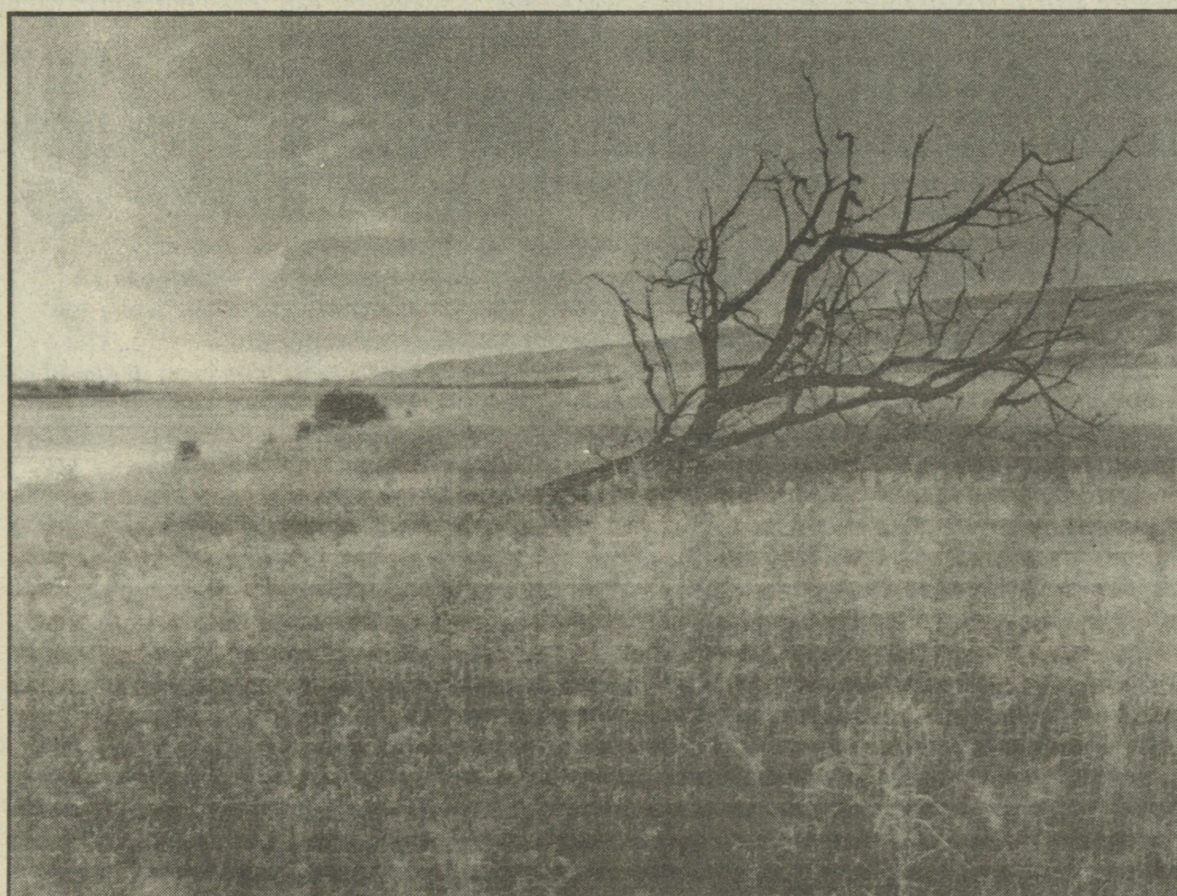
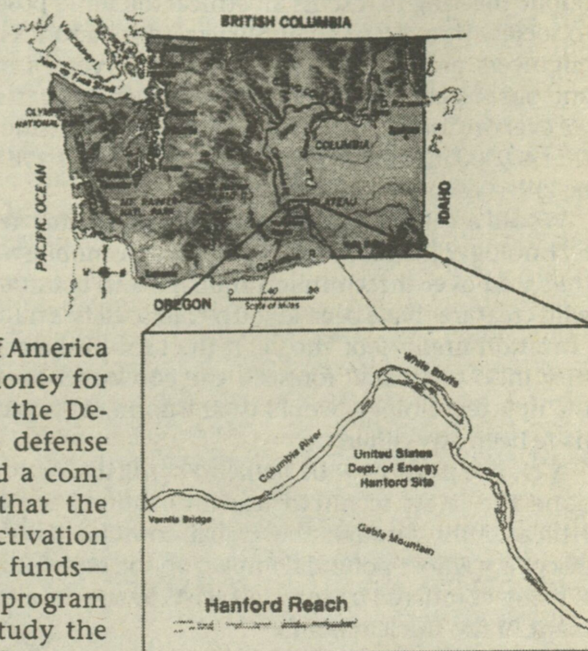
the cost of \$647 million. It operated from 1982 to 1992, testing advanced fuels, materials and components to support the next generation of Liquid Metal Reactors. FFTF was shut down (put into cold standby) in 1992 when it was determined that it no longer had a sustainable mission. It was scheduled to be deactivated this year, saving us the yearly mortgage fee of \$44 million, which could go towards the actual cleanup at Hanford. The Hanford Advisory Board (HAB), Hanford Watch and Heart of America have demanded that the money for cold standby come out of the Defense budget (since it is a defense mission) and have received a commitment from the DOE that the money will come from deactivation savings and nuclear legacy funds—with the Nuclear Energy program kicking in \$1 million to study the feasibility of restarting FFTF.

One of the ironies of the Tri-cities' clamor for the restart of the FFTF is that the local governments of Richland, Kennewick and Pasco have been working hard for economic diversification so that they are not dependent upon the DOE for jobs. The past 50 years in the plutonium business have brought wild fluctuations in employment. One of the reasons that the Fluor Daniel Company was awarded the prime cleanup contract for Hanford was its promise of creating economic diversification. There have been thousands of layoffs over the past few years, with more to come. Yet the restart of the FFTF for a tritium production mission could take the towns right back to the same government dependency. The restart of the FFTF also is counter to the cleanup mission that has been strongly touted by the

former Secretary of Energy; it would add more waste to an already overburdened waste stream with nowhere to go. (Yucca Mountain high level waste repository in Nevada is still years behind schedule and millions of dollars over cost.) And if the FFTF were chosen as the best alternative for producing tritium for warheads, it is likely that the Fuel and Materials Examination Facility (FMEF) would be used to produce mixed oxide fuel (MOX), the fuel of choice to run the FFTF. Again, more waste streams would be created,

adding the burden of radioactive transport to Hanford as plutonium is brought in to fuel the FMEF.

Add to this burgeoning resurgence of the bomb business the decision at



"The irony is that the Hanford Energy Reservation succeeded in protecting areas of this kind in Washington State."

Photo by Robert Underwood

DOE headquarters to use the MOX fuel option (or "burn" option) as one part of a two-tiered path to dispose of our excess plutonium stockpile. Washington Public Power Supply System would like to have its commercial nuclear power reactor, which has had its share of problems, "retrofitted" as a MOX reactor. The excess plutonium would be free or cheap fuel provided by the government for burning. Sounds like a good solution to all of our problems? But all reactors produce waste that has nowhere to go.

Looking at this whole picture, many of us see the cessation of all cleanup efforts at Hanford and the restart of a multifaceted nuclear industry dependent on government subsidies.

Producing tritium would be a gigantic step backward in the cleanup of Hanford and thus of the Columbia River. If the cleanup is slowed down any more than it has been by lack of funds and by past mismanagement, we will be leaving our children and grandchildren a toxic legacy that could reach epic proportions within the next 100 years. The progress that has been made in the past six years cannot be turned aside. Future decisions must be made with full public awareness, debate and participation. We all have an obligation to look at the issues and let our views be known to the DOE and to Congress. We hold fate in our hands—either by our action or our inaction.

Call the Oregon State Legislature at (800)332-2313, your Federal Congressional Member at (800) 972-3524 or Governor Kitzhaber at (503) 378-3111. Ask them to provide adequate funds for monitoring and cleanup at Hanford and oppose the use of plutonium fuels in nuclear reactors and the production of tritium at the Fast Flux Test Facility at Hanford.

THE HANFORD REACH

BY ROBERT UNDERWOOD

The normal way of growing up in the Columbia River basin of eastern Washington is to hunt, fish and wander. To listen, as a child, to the creaking of the pickup truck as it undulates over the back roads. To wipe the thick dust from the mouth of your grape soda before tipping it to your lips as a violent jolt of the truck sends the fizz up your nose. To look for arrowheads along the river and carry a snake bite kit.

I had an affinity for wandering. I loved the hawks, geese, coyotes and the thickets near any water where deer would bed. I loved any variation in the landscape that would diverge from being flat and yet, looking back, it was the overwhelming flatness that gave the features such fascination.

After the Columbia River spills from Priest Rapids Dam heading southeast, it cuts along the volcanic basalt fingers of the Cascade Mountains. Yielding to the rock faces it curves east into the great flat basin. It flows past the old Vernita ferry crossing, now Vernita bridge, then heads northeast as if to position itself for its spectacular arch towards the south, cutting into the chalk sediments of ancient floods.

If you imagine the arc of the river passing the White Bluffs as if it were a great eye, then the pupil would be Gable Mountain, a two-pointed mound in the middle of a great plain to the south of the river. This has been a vision quest site for Native Americans for as long as anyone knows.

The last natural stretch of the Columbia

The Columbia River from Priest Rapids to Richland is the last free-flowing stretch of this river in Washington State. The river from Vernita to Richland, now called the Hanford Reach, has been under the jurisdiction of the federal government since the 1940s. To understand this area you must know that the plutonium for the Nagasaki bomb was created here and that this site has been a receptacle of radioactive and chemical waste for 50 years.

Growing up in the Columbia Basin can give one a rich perspective on the impact of our modern industrial culture. I find it humorous that this perspective was nurtured by such a little known place on earth.

When Hanford came, Richland was a boom town of young and vital people. We got our milk out on the farms because it was better than the milk in the stores. Years later we found out about the release of radioactivity across the Columbia basin as part of the Department of Energy's tests.

Two paths

After that, I began to learn more about the people who used to live there. The Palouse who lived east of the Columbia, the Yakimas who lived west of the river and the Wanapums who lived in the basin occupied presently by the Hanford Energy Reservation and the White Bluffs area, called the Hanford Reach.

In the last half of the 1800s there were many native visionaries who spoke of two paths. One path embraces the relationship with the Earth and one severs it. In the Columbia basin this vision was embodied in the Washani religion. Smohalla of the Wanapums, holy man of Washani, was born near the Wallula Gap of the Columbia River. His teachings had widespread influence with many of the inland tribes as they coped with the destruction of the land and their culture. The Washani religion taught reverence for the Earth as a part of your own body. I think of Gable Mountain as it was in the past and can imagine Smohalla on his vision quests conversing with the spirit world that was so vital.

There's an overwhelming irony revealed by this little hill in a vast basin overlooking the last natural stretch of a river. The little hill speaks of two paths. Stop and listen, they are spoken in every tongue now.

The Hanford Energy Reservation's need for security succeeded in protecting areas of this unique arid river basin ecosystem, the last of its kind in Washington State. Now the federal government wishes to reduce its land holdings, subjecting the river to other public and/or private interests. We are at a crossroads of opportunity. We must assure protection of this



photo by Robert Underwood

"Looking back, it was the overwhelming flatness that gave the features such fascination."

incredible ecosystem by giving the river and adjacent lands wild and scenic river status. Legislation to protect the reach is being resubmitted to Congress by Senator Patty Murray of Washington State in 1997.

This area is far more than a bend in the river. It is a place that diverges from and embraces flatness. A place of rich history. A place that is conscious.

Earth's Eye

Your fluid eye arches north, millennium etched eyelid opening ever wider, pupils of sacred mountains. The prophet Smohalla of the Wanapums walked upon your shores, floated on your tears, sang through your sight.

We drill into you, pouring lethal mixtures to blind you, afraid of what you see, comfort in your blindness, the silence of your voice less disturbing. Wind is only wind. Hawk breaking silence, only a red tail, its voice not spitting arrows with filament thongs pulling ground dwellers to the sky. Coyote tries to sing you back to sanity only to become a target for sighting in a rifle.

You do still see us, drifting in your currents like flies on the lens of a search light, knowing you are earth's eye witnessing creation and despite our blindness we have no choice but to be a part of what you see.

The rhythm of the paddle stirs current of water and of time. Voices and laughter of past people close to the river, joy in your bounty. I imagine a young brave running along the bank, keeping pace with the canoe, he waves. It seems quite natural as time compresses then expands to include the nuclear reactors on your south bank. Hanford siren signals something serious like lunch and the coyotes chant. Time again collapses under wings of geese as they rise.

By day's end, September heat robs your appetite. Cozy camp, tolerable wind, too exhausted to cook. I'm glad Chef McGregor came all the way from Scotland to be with me on the river. That blend of Scotch whiskeys that fires the appetite, cuts the dust, reloads the film holders and toasts with the deepest respect your performance of twilight, as you gently knot the star in the sky to the star in the river, one by one, and I gently untie them as I bathe in your waters.

Early morning obscures the pale chalk bluffs into ribbon shadows of blue. Staring into these shadows is like the

closets of your childhood, all the fears of the future can play in these cool, toned shades.

You are the last of your kind a 50-mile sacred eye where the waters still talk. We seek your power, we may have succeeded in making you blink, and when you do, I fear I am lost. We have severed the umbilical and marched away in arrogance, traveling great distances. Yet here, now, looking into your ribbons of blue, I am lost and lonely. Our hands are full of the thousand things obscuring meaning. Wandering in a human landscape, despite our utter neglect, I still feel you there, waiting to welcome us back. Like Dorothy in the Wizard of OZ, I am homesick, wishing I could click my heels or dance a jig on your bank to find that short cut home. Our search for meaning seemed to exist in a continuum with no time limit. I stop at this point in the human journey, my heart bolts, tears well up, foreboding feeling that your eye may close before I can ever find my way back, before it's necessary for coyote to lace the land with our entrails as a final effort of unity, of homecoming. In the flat light of midday there is comfort that the anarchy of entrails will, in the end, tie us back to you, our Mother.

If one yearns for insight through the revelation of the physical, you must wait for sunset to etch into clarity each ridge, each symbol. The setting sunlight slips between opacity of cloud and horizon, raking the land. The freshly written pattern of ridges is repeated by the sky with an ease of conversation, a marriage of meaning, earth, sky, moment, millennium. The white cliffs are not entirely cryptic. We are human seeking connection, made of your soil, water and sky. The metallic yellow sign saying "No trespassing" seems out of place for a moment. Then its command becomes exhausting, saying "find another way back." It becomes another dead end of one of a thousand paths home. When we have no energy left for another diversion, we may, without notice, begin to smell of death. I hear Coyote singing. I hear them drawing near, when they stop we may feel the tugging on our bellies, the coyote pups playfully extending the intestinal filament thongs from our centers... pulling us home.

Then...

*may our eyes be wide open
to be a part of what you see.*

US Paper Companies Conspire to Squash Zapatistas

BY VIVIANA, NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR DEMOCRACY IN MEXICO

"The global economic and political order is predicated on the exploitation and domination both of humans and of land. The violence by which this system maintains itself is both genocidal, systematically destroying human communities, and ecocidal, systematically destroying functioning ecosystems. The war on humans and the war on the land are merely different aspects of the same problem."

—Bill Weinberg, *War on the Land: Ecology and Politics in Central America*

Against the history of dual exploitation of people and land, the Zapatistas rose up in rebellion on the day the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was implemented. By calling for the elimination of communally held (ejido) land and opening the land in Chiapas and throughout Mexico to the exploitation of multinational corporations, NAFTA signed a death sentence against the autonomy and cultural identity of the indigenous people of Mexico.

With each advance made by the Mexican military into Zapatista territory the possibility of retreat fades and tensions increase. The objective of the federal army is to fully penetrate the heart of Zapatista territory and separate the EZLN from its base of civilian support through low-intensity war. This is the second year that the army's military blockades have isolated the Zapatista communities, creating conditions so tense as to prevent them from planting crops. They are malnourished, and in some cases, starving because of it.

The army has constructed roads into Zapatista territory, hoping to expedite the movement of troops into the area

for a "surgical strike" at the leadership of the EZLN. Three years ago the Zapatista territory was a relatively undeveloped area with few roads, mostly unpaved.

The United States is not a quiet bystander to the environmental and cultural destruction in Mexico. The State Department admits that it is unable to account for how military aid to Mexico is used. US equipment has been used in the war against the Zapatistas, and the US continues to send equipment and aid by the millions of dollars. Before the recent arrest of Mexico's premiere drug czar, General Jesus Gutierrez Rebollo, for taking bribes from a leading Mexican drug lord, Clinton had promised \$21 million dollars in military aid to Mexico for 1998. Money for the war on drugs is money for the war against the Zapatistas. A shipment of 33 Huey helicopters (in addition to 20 sent in November, 1996), \$37 million in helicopters and reconnaissance aircraft and possibly \$10 million for night vision and command and control equipment for land support is planned for 1997.

Major deals have already been brokered between the Mexican government and multinational corporations for the development of forest and petroleum resources in the coun-

try. These agreements may be critical to determining the direction of the low-intensity war against the Zapatistas. Neoliberal economic policies seek to maximize the profits of private corporations through deregulation, privatization and the removal of environmental, health and safety regulations, in addition to the cutting of social services—eliminating barriers to the free movement of capital. This compels environmentalists to develop an analysis of the war of

ditions to establish immense commercial plantations for rapid growth."

Aviles found as well that, "(In) 1993 a company (then) called Interfin presented a project to plant eucalyptus on a surface of 300,000 hectares in Tabasco, Chiapas and Campeche." "In 1994, the same company (now called Pulsar) established agreements to sell all the wood that it could extract from the southeast to International Paper."

This immense project in Mexico was arranged without consulting the communities that would be affected, nor was the issue raised in negotiations with the EZLN, in spite of the fact that lands of some of their supporting communities would be involved. On June 27, 1995, Mr. Edward J. Kobacker, vice-president and general director of International Paper (IP), sent a letter to the Chief of the Office of the Presidency of Mexico explaining that IP "has identified an initial project of 50,000 hectares in the state of Chiapas. Although at this time, the projections of that project are not positive and the political environment represents a high risk." Included in IP's agreement with President Zedillo was the commitment: "To establish that the development of a Mexican forest industry, strong and globally competitive, supported by commercial plantations is a national priority."

Another serious factor in the plans for exploitation of the Lacandón land is the petroleum reserves. Chiapas sits on major petroleum reserves, second only to Venezuela in the Western Hemisphere. Eight unexplored oil sites are located on communally held land under Zapatista control. In November 1996 an agreement was made between Hydro-Quebec International and the Mexican Federal Electricity Commission for development of natural gas resources, including a major natural gas deposit near Ocosingo, Chiapas.

This news is an alert to the ecological implications of neoliberal policies. As Mexico's forestry industry grows we will see more exportation of US forest industry jobs. Initially, this may appear beneficial to US forests. Mexico, however, has even lower standards for environmental protection and public process. This is the basic formula for zero corporate accountability and is exactly what the US industry will push for under the guise of eliminating barriers to free trade.

Neoliberalism establishes the very blueprints for destruction of land as it programs the destruction of community self-determination, sustainability and cultural identity. Indeed, both land and indigenous communities are mined as the "natural resources" valued under neoliberalism—leaving skeletons of both cultures and ecosystems, no longer capable of sustaining the health or identity they once had.

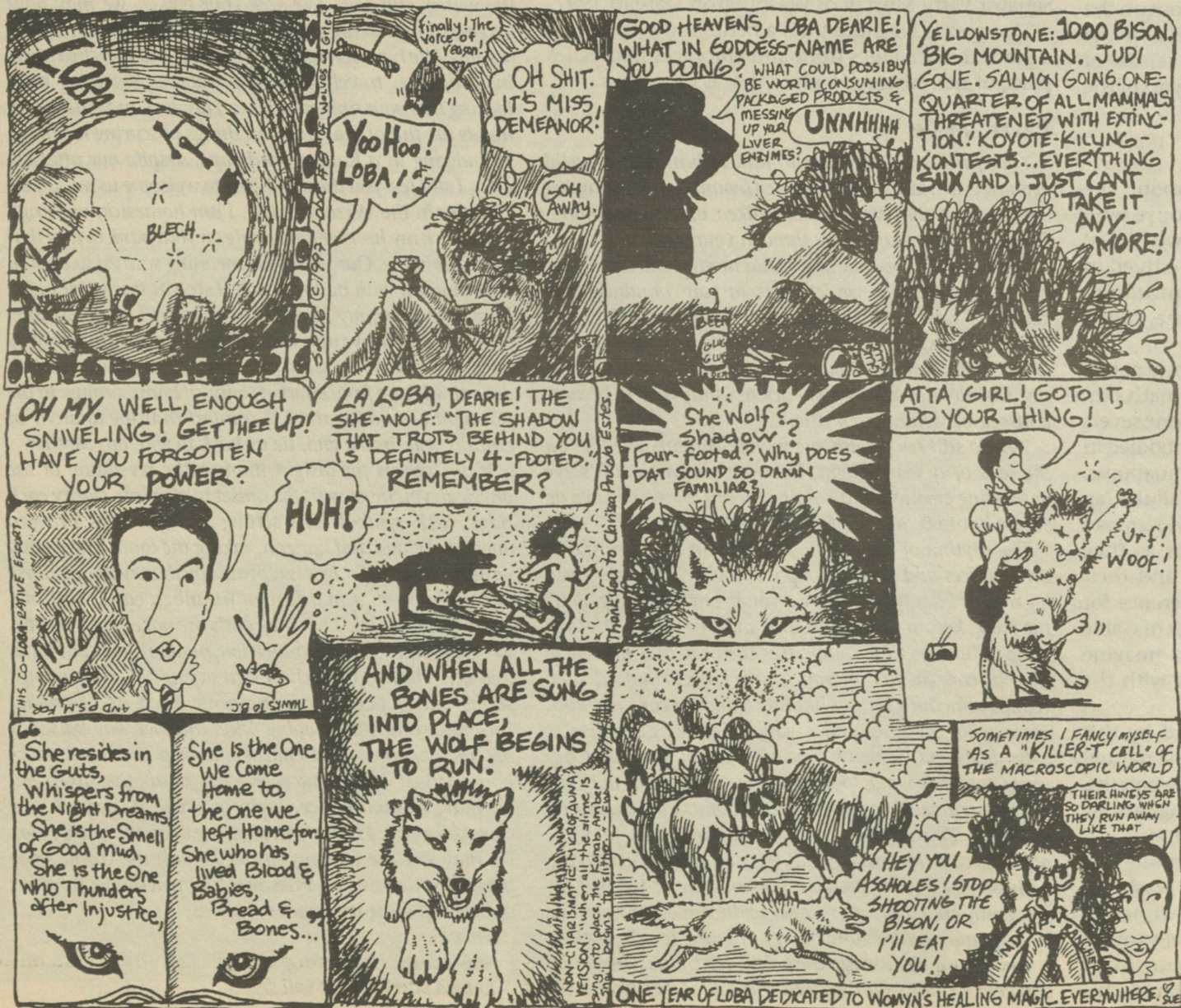
We must demand an end to US military aid to Mexico. Our efforts to fight corporate dominance and neoliberalism here in the United States are as critical to the future of the Zapatistas as to the health of our forests and ecosystems in the US.

For more information on the struggle of the Zapatistas, US military aid to Mexico, neoliberalism and the environment write: NCDM, 2001 Montana, Suite B, El Paso, TX 79903; (915) 532-8382; email moonlight@igc.apc.org.



In the Selva Lacandón, near La Realidad, Chiapas

Photo by Langelle/NEN



SPIRIT MOUNTAIN AND THE ZORTMAN MINE

BY THE INDIAN LAW RESOURCE CENTER

A narrow dirt road leads away past a tiny cluster of houses and a stone mission church that make up this settlement on the Fort Belknap Reservation. It runs past the sun-dance lodge and the powwow grounds and into the forest that cloaks the Little Rocky Mountains of Montana.

At the end of the road is a place where Assiniboiné and Gros Ventre Indians still hunt and seek visions. But the look of the place has changed drastically in recent years. Now there is a huge open pit and a towering wall of crushed stone there, remnants of a mountain that has been turned inside out for the gold inside.

A century ago, this piece of the mountain range was part of the reservation, and many in the tribes still smolder over the loss. They say that in 1896 their ancestors were forced to sell the gold-bearing land because of a form of blackmail typical of the time: If they did not sell, the government agent for the reservation would have withheld food rations.

The mine complex has contaminated much of this beautiful region. Between 1982 and 1993, six accidental spills or releases of cyanide solution occurred at the mines, contaminating both surface and ground waters. Additional leaks or spills may have gone undetected. Last year, the tribes filed a notice of intent to sue Pegasus Gold, which owns the Zortman mine, for damages to reservation water. The suit, under the Clean Water Act, resulted in a \$37 million settlement, including a \$1 million payment to the tribes and a \$30 million bond against future damage. The settlement also required the company to fund a comprehensive ground water investigation and studies of the impacts of mining on the health of the Fort Belknap Reservation residents and aquatic resources.

In October 1996, expansion plans for the mine complex were approved which will roughly triple the area affected by mining operations in the Little Rocky Mountains. In January the tribes sued again in state court to stop Pegasus from creating a new pit until it cleaned up the old one. The tribes are also considering a lawsuit in federal court contending that federal agencies did not prepare an adequate environmental impact statement when they approved the new pit. The tribes maintain that the State should, at a minimum, wait for the studies required under the water quality settlement to be completed before allowing the mines to expand. Since 1979, Zortman-Landusky has been issued 24 amendments to its original operating permit, expanding it from approximately 500 acres to 1,189. Prior to the latest expansion proposal, no permit amendment received more than a cursory environmental assessment from regulatory agencies.

Much of the land on which the mines operate was patented to Pegasus or previous owners under the 1872 Mining Act for \$5 or less an acre. Gold is extracted at the mines by blasting thousands of tons of rock per day from open pits, then crushing and transporting gold-bearing ore to leaching pads where it is piled in heaps and sprayed with cyanide solution to release the gold. An operation like Zortman-Landusky uses more than a million pounds of highly toxic cyanide annually. The mines also have the dubious distinctions of being the first large-scale mining operation to use the cyanide heap leach process and the lowest-grade mining operation in the nation. Nearly half of all the rock blasted from the Little Rocky Mountains does not contain sufficient quantities of gold to merit processing and is simply set aside in waste rock dumps. Almost 100 tons of ore must be processed to produce just one ounce of gold. It took about 16 years for the two mines to produce one million ounces of gold, which equals perhaps a small pickup truck load, valued at

approximately \$400 million.

Redoubling the devastation of the land won't be as easy for the modern filchers. Tribal leaders say they are making sure the dynamics are different now than they were for their ancestors.

"They threatened their rations, so they gave in and made poor decisions," said Tracy Charles King, president of the Fort Belknap Community Council, the Assiniboiné tribal governing body, "But starvation tactics are over. It's time for us to ask questions, get answers and be treated with respect."

The tribes say the two huge open pits in the area have poisoned wells, diminished the flow of streams and may have widely contaminated ground water. The mining company says those contentions are exaggerated.

"There's been a lot of allegations," said John Pearson, director of investor relations for Pegasus Gold at the company's headquarters in Spokane, WA, "And there have been studies done that have proved some of them absolutely false. Our environmental record and reclamation effort is a very strong one."

To add insult to injury, portions of the 1,200 acres already disturbed (the total permit areas is twice

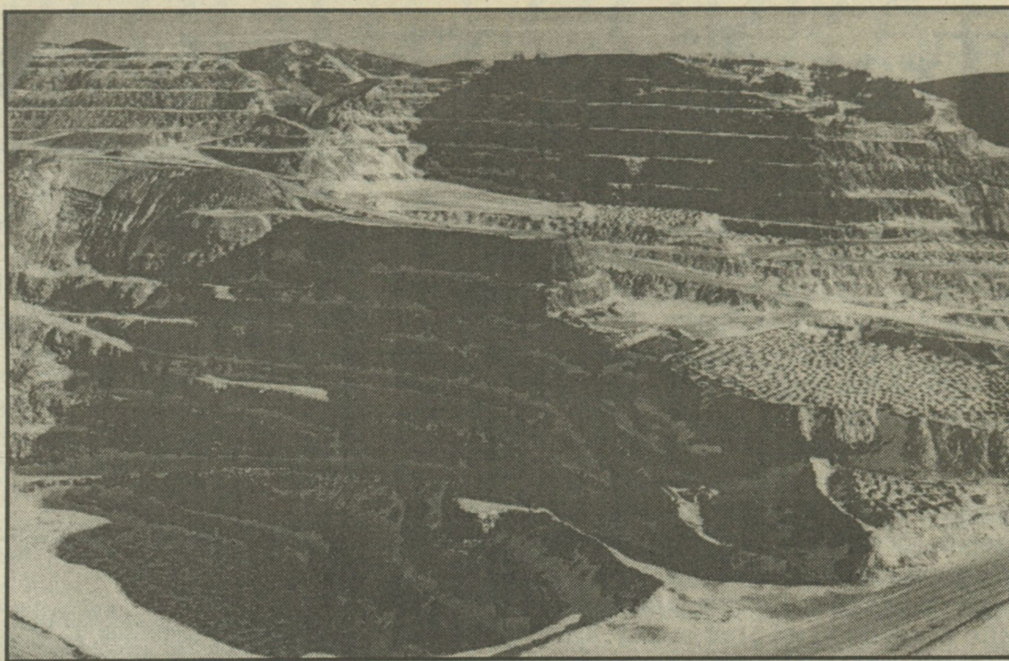


Photo by James Watts/Indian Law Resource Center

Mining projects, like the Landusky Mine, devastate traditional cultural lands.

that) hold traditional cultural significance for the people. One such site was the mountain that the Zortman mine destroyed.

"That mountain they tore down was Spirit Mountain," said Virgil McConnell, 72, an Assiniboiné tribal elder. McConnell said the other mountains were still used extensively for vision quests, several days of praying and fasting in the mountains in search of a gift from the Great Spirit.

"You pray, you do a lot of crying and pray to the Great Spirit," McConnell said, "But you can't go on a vision quest when there's blasting and a lot of noise. We tried to tell the mining company this, but they wouldn't pay any attention."

There seems to be a renewed sense of purpose among the tribes which have been mired in chaos because of overwhelming problems, like the 80 percent unemployment rate at Fort Belknap.

"Eternity," said Poncho Bigby, the director of the Fort Belknap Natural Resource Department, "We'll suffer the impacts of that mine for eternity."

Resistance at Big Mountain Continues



The Dineh resisters at Big Mountain have until March 31, 1997 to decide whether or not to sign the Accommodation Agreement (AA) with the Hopi Tribe. Families who choose not to sign the AA cannot be evicted until the federal government builds them a relocation home and provides a 90-day eviction notice. There is no exact date when the evictions will occur. The federal government has until February 1, 2000 to complete the building of relocation homes. If forced relocation occurs, it is going to be a long three years, requiring continual support.

The Dineh resisters showed up in force in Windowrock, Arizona in early February for hearings in front of the Navajo Nation. As a result, the Navajo Nation has rejected the AA in its present form. A strong Navajo leader and Speaker of the Council, Kelsey Begaye, argued, "The agreement incorporates the principle of forced relocation of Navajo people; a principle which is repugnant to all Navajo people and which must be opposed in any form it takes... All delegates appreciate the gravity of our action opposing the Agreement, but we offer our prayers to all of those deities who watch over and care for the Navajo people. With their guidance, the Council believes a just, permanent and comprehensive settlement will finally be reached."

The following week, for the Ninth Circuit Court "Fairness" Hearings, the Dineh resisters surrounded the federal courthouse in Phoenix and impressed Judge Earl Carroll with their spiritual perseverance. The Judge seemed to want an alternative to the AA. He seemed to understand that the AA may not be fair.

Judge Carroll said he may reject the AA, but he will not announce his decision until after the March deadline. The Hopis ignored his suggestion that they extend the March deadline for another 30 to 60 days.

The Navajo Nation Council has offered its help in beginning new negotiations with the Hopis. Even Navajo Nation President Albert Hale, one of the

ongoing supporters of the AA, is not so gung-ho about it anymore. He was seen masquerading in Phoenix behind a "Relocation is Genocide" banner just after issuing a public statement that, "even with the limitations of the present agreement, it still offers the best option for our people. For decades, all other options have failed, including land exchanges, land purchases and repeal of the relocation law."

Navajo Nation Councilman Erwin Keeswood, a delegate from Shiprock, summed up most feelings when he declared that it is up to the two sovereign nations to work out an acceptable agreement. He warned against any involvement by the US government, saying a hands off policy to this issue would be appropriate.

It is important for supporters to note that the Hopi Tribal Council has an Exclusionary Law that they may use to eject any non-Indian who they do not wish on their land. They have used this law against the Rainbow family and others who have challenged the Hopi Tribe's authority. The ejection of non-Indians is always accompanied by the Arizona police.

Non-Indian supporters should see the Brigid '97 *EF!* Journal article on Big Mountain for a list about preparations for self-sufficiency and support activities. In addition, it is necessary for all support people to have understanding. Learn the roots of oppression and what it means to live in a world where the words "consciousness" and "liberty" are unknown. Understand the runaway technology that is plunging us into an uncertain future. Peabody Western has the power and technology to convert to solar and wind power. The revolution is not on the outside, it is from within. The Spirit of the land, the Hopi and Dineh people are under assault. This is more than a political issue for activists and eco-friendly warriors. This is a collision with history. Understand that we must all walk in beauty if we are to survive this collision.

For more information, please contact the Sovereign Dineh Nation at POB 30453, Flagstaff, AZ 86003; (520) 522-8683; email sdn@primenet.com; <http://www.primenet.com/~sdn>.

—Mary Katherine Smith and Adam Steinberg contributed to this article.

Trawling Threatens Steller Sea Lions

BY JEANNE PATTON AND KEN STUMP

Just as the spotted owl is an indicator species of a healthy forest ecosystem, the Steller sea lion, a predator at the top of the North Pacific food chain, acts as an indicator of ocean ecosystem health. The Steller sea lions who inhabit the waters of the North Pacific Ocean have suffered the most dramatic population decline of any pinniped during the last 30 years.

Currently, the Steller is listed as a threatened species and it will soon be added to the endangered species list. A recent National Research Council study says the only factor deemed to have a "high likelihood" of explaining Steller decline is the overfishing of Steller prey. Greenpeace has maintained that industrial-scale, factory trawl fishing of pollock jeopardizes the Steller's survival. In August 1996, Greenpeace launched a campaign to ban factory trawlers in US waters and is now calling on Congress to conduct hearings on the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS).

History of Steller sea lion decline

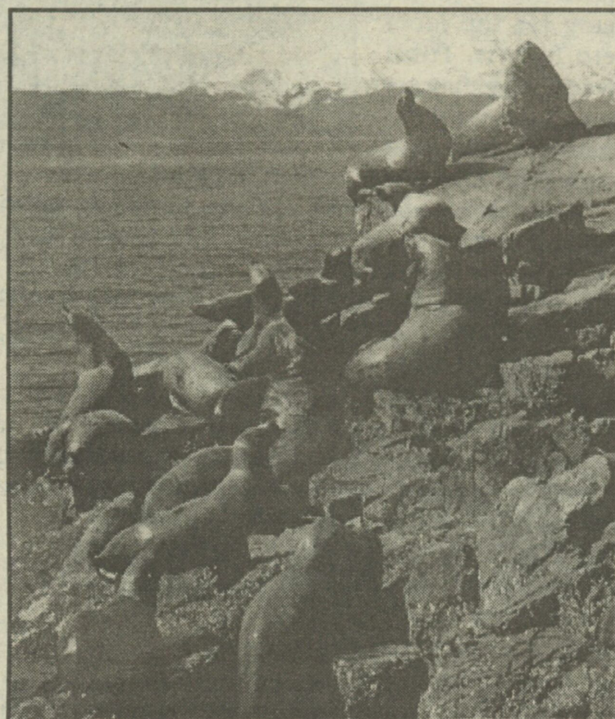
Between 1956 and 1960, Steller sea lion numbers were estimated at 240,000–290,000 worldwide. Although the species ranges from the North Pacific rim of California to the Korean Peninsula, the population centers of greatest abundance are found in Alaska, from the Kenai Peninsula in the Gulf of Alaska to the Central Aleutian Islands. During these same years, an incomplete survey showed 140,000 Stellers in this region.

In 1964, Japanese factory trawlers pioneered a new on-board processing technology which converts pollock (a primary fish prey for sea lions, fur seals, harbor seals and some sea birds) into surimi, a protein paste widely used as imitation crab meat. During the first year after the invention of this technology, Japan removed 175,000 tons of pollock from the eastern Bering Sea. Soviet factory ships soon joined the hunt. Between 1970–1976, over ten million tons of pollock were extracted from the eastern Bering Sea by foreign factory trawlers. In the early '80s, a 200-mile exclusive zone off the coast of all countries was established, yet in the US zone overfishing continued.

In this same time period, the first large declines of Stellers were recorded in the eastern Aleutian Islands. By 1985, only 68,000 Stellers were counted in rookeries from the Kenai Peninsula to Kiska Island in the central Aleutians—a 48 percent decline from the 1960 population. In 1989, a survey of Steller rookeries indicated that the population in the same Kenai-to-Kiska area had plummeted to about 25,000 animals.

Factory trawlers breaking the food chain

Stellers may be deprived of suitable prey even when overall abundance of groundfish stocks are high. The time of year and location of fishery removals may be as important as the numbers of fish removed. For instance, pollock and mackerel catches in sea lion foraging areas increased dramatically throughout the 1980s. Trawl fishing of pollock increased during the winter months and targeted spawning pollock whose roe (eggs) are prized by humans for their high market value and



Stellar sea lions warm up from the waters of the North Pacific.

by sea lions for their high energy content. Energy rich spawning pollock are vital to pregnant or nursing sea lions in crucial late-winter months. Depletion of this important food source causes food-stressed females to abort fetuses or wean nursing pups before they are able to feed themselves. Evidence of nutritional stress in sea lions was observed in the Kodiak Island rookeries in the 1980s following the decimation of the spawning pollock stock. Surveys there revealed that sea lions, particularly females, weighed less, were in poorer condition and produced fewer pups than their counterparts of earlier years.

A weak response from NMFS

In 1988, it was proposed that the Steller be listed as a depleted species under the Marine Mammal Protection Act. The following year 16 environ-

mental groups submitted a petition to the Secretary of Commerce to list Steller sea lions as endangered under provisions of the Endangered Species Act (ESA). This prompted the NMFS to publish an emergency rule listing the Steller sea lion as a threatened species in 1990. Ironically, that same year, the North Pacific Fishery Management Council proposed an 82 percent increase in the pollock quota in the Gulf of Alaska, as well as in the eastern Bering Sea. NMFS issued a biological opinion stating that a 40 percent increase in the Gulf of Alaska's total allowable catch was "not likely" to jeopardize the Steller sea lion. A legal challenge resulted in the establishment of no-trawl zones of 10–20 nautical miles around sea lion rookeries in western Alaska. However, the Steller is known to forage out to the continental shelf and buffer zones have not afforded meaningful protection to one of the largest single-species fisheries in the world.

NMFS proposed in 1995 to uplist the western Alaskan Kenai-to-Kiska portion of the Steller sea lion stock from threatened to endangered because of continued Steller decline. Unfortunately, NMFS continues to miss uplisting deadlines and has failed to recommend any significant reduction of the pollock quota in the eastern Bering Sea. It is clear that NMFS has not addressed the link between pollock overfishing and Steller decline. The total allowable catch for 1997 remains at 1.1 million metric tons.

In 1997, two hard-hitting direct actions took place aimed at spreading awareness of these destructive fishing practices and physically stopping factory trawlers from leaving port. On January 2, 1997, activists confronted the world's newest factory trawler, the American Monarch. They attached a 30-foot banner that read, "American Monarch: Factory Trawler, Overfishing Permit Denied, Banned In Chile, Ban It Here," to the side of the ship docked in Seattle, Washington. This action was a follow-up to October '96 protests by Chilean fishermen and activists in Norway and Chile which resulted in the Chilean government's rejection of a fishing permit for the American Monarch.

If you'd like to voice your rage to the Secretary of Commerce, (who oversees the NMFS) contact the US Secretary of Commerce, Washington, DC, 20230; (202)482-2112; fax (202)482-4576 and demand a rapid phaseout of factory trawlers in US waters by the year 2001. The complete report, "Sinking Fast: How Factory Trawlers are Destroying US Fisheries and Marine Ecosystems" is posted on Greenpeace's website at <http://www.greenpeace.org/~usa/campaigns/biodiversity>.

COVE/MALLARD CLOSURE CANNED

BY GRUMBLESOX

These are strange and confusing times in Idaho. Shocking events are taking place! Federal District Court Judge Lodge has ruled against the constitutionality of a 1995 closure order. On January 14, 1997, Judge Lodge had a revelation. He overturned the Dirty Dozen's convictions of violating a closure order during a blockade of the Jack Road at Cove/Mallard in August of 1995. Lodge found that the closure order was a violation of First Amendment rights because the Forest Service (USFS) had no "standards and conditions" for granting permits to enter the closed area. Judge Lodge wisely ruled that leaving such decisions up to the arbitrary whims of the Nez Perce National Forest was dangerous and unconstitutional. The strange part is that Lodge is the same judge who convicted and sentenced numerous activists in 1993 for violating a closure order which was even more arbitrary.

In related news, the "Filthy Five" appeared before Judge Williams for sentencing on January 22. The Five were busted for a 40-day blockade and occupation of the Jack Road on August 7, 1996. They were convicted of violating a closure order—three were also convicted of "maintaining a structure." Although Judge Williams actually slept through parts of the trial, he appeared awake for sentencing. Williams started the hearing by mentioning Judge Lodge's decision and the possible impact on his guilty verdicts. Surprisingly, the Judge refused to throw out the closure violations and instead asked both the defense and prosecution to submit briefs on the issue in 15 days. Sometime after that he will decide the correctness of his earlier verdict. The Judge then had to listen to the defendants' cynical "pre-sentencing statements." Each defendant passionately defended their actions and raised their voices for the creatures, trees, plants

and fish. They all vowed to continue defending Cove/Mallard from the USFS and its contractors. His response was predictable: stony and hostile silence. Judge Williams then gave the defendants a lecture on following the law and further accused the Five of taking the law into their own hands and destroying a good road in the process.

The pre-sentencing reports produced by the US Probation Office recommended that each defendant collectively or singly pay the road contractor \$5,700 in restitution for road damage, even though no one was charged with destroying the road. This pre-sentencing report justified harsh sentences by saying it would "deter" others from protesting at Cove/Mallard. It asked for 90 days of jail and restitution for Zak and Michael and "only" 60 days and restitution for first time offenders, Forrest, Rachel and Sean.

Ihor Mezereck, the supervisor of

Nez Perce National Forest says that he will continue to issue closure orders and that the USFS will study Judge Lodge's reversal and attempt to comply with his ruling.

What does this mean to activists defending National Forests? It could mean the end of all closure orders until the regulations are rewritten. To challenge a closure, we suggest that you first apply to enter any closed area. Make sure to get copies of your request and their answer. Then, use Lodge's order in court when you go to trial. If you're on trial, appealing a closure conviction or just want a copy of the order, contact the Cove/Mallard Coalition. Don't forget to include a couple of dollars to cover mailing costs. Also contact the Coalition to support the defendants or get more information on upcoming actions. Cove/Mallard Coalition, POB 8968, Moscow, ID 83843; (208) 882-9755; fax (208) 883-0727; e-mail cove@moscow.com.

HARD TIMES AT COHO CORRAL

BY ALEXANDRA MORTON

In October 1984, I followed a family of killer whales into the Broughton Archipelago in British Columbia, Canada. It was a dark, wet day with mist clinging to the steep-sided inlet walls. The winding channels led me deeper into a wilderness of unimaginable beauty. Underwater, the whales' calls echoed in the cold silence. I knew immediately this would become my home. I was searching for a place to begin a long-term, year-round study on killer whales, and it seemed fitting that the whales should lead me there.

Looking back on the first years of my research, I did not know how lucky I was to spend my days wandering the Archipelago in the company of whales. I thought they would always be here, visible from the windows of my homestead. Three years after I began my study, however, the first salmon farm appeared. Today, whales don't come here anymore.

How bad can a salmon farm be? A small set of pens anchored in the vast ocean, producing food for a hungry world, without touching the wild salmon. This was my first reaction: they looked like a great idea. However, the fishers who taught me the ways of fish noticed otherwise almost immediately.

In 1991, IBEC, a corporate chicken farmer, put tens of thousands of Atlantic salmon into the Archipelago that were infected with a bacterial disease called furunculosis. IBEC's farms were on the migration route of coho salmon. That fall a small coho enhancement hatchery which had been operating for ten years saw its first case of furunculosis. In the previous decade at the hatchery, broodstock mortality had averaged three percent and that year it jumped to 28 percent. The next year it went higher. Eventually, to keep any hatchery fish alive antibiotics had to be administered.

In 1993, a Norwegian company called Scanmar put thousands more Atlantic salmon into the Archipelago. They were infected with a strain of furunculosis resistant to all antibiotics used in salmon farms in British Columbia. That fall the returning coho were also infected with a strain of furunculosis resistant to antibiotics. Local Chinook stocks crashed across all age-classes.

I tried unsuccessfully to determine if the strains of furunculosis were the same in the farmed Atlantic salmon and the wild Pacific salmon, but the farmers were unwilling to release that information. An environmental review of the industry currently underway in BC also tried to extract this information without success. Government and industry representatives have asked us to believe the repeated simultaneous epidemics are mere coincidence. Norwegian research, however, has found that fish farms on salmon migration routes are one of the leading causes of disease in enhancement hatcheries.

My prawn fishing neighbors were distraught to find that salmon farms also ruin prime prawn habitat. When placed near farms, prawn traps come up empty.

Not only are there no prawns, there is no life at all and stinking ooze adheres to the trap mesh. Research in Denmark discovered the same results, reporting loss of all macro-invertebrates near salmon farms.

When the farmers first began importing Atlantic salmon, they said none would escape. Ten years later there are so many escaped Atlantics they have earned a spot in the BC fishing regulations and a daily quota. Humanity is curiously keen to move species around the planet, even though we often express huge regret later and expend terrific effort to undo what we have done.

On an exquisite, calm day in June 1993, I lowered my underwater listening device from my boat, placed the headset on my ears and turned on the recorder. I have done this thousands of times to listen for whales, but this time I yanked the headset off my ears as fast as possible. The sounds coming from underwater were painfully loud. The nearby salmon farm, owned by Stolt, a tanker corporation, was broadcasting high pitched frequencies in an effort to keep seals from attacking its fish. As I proceeded down the channel, I noticed that all the harbor porpoise were gone.

A year later, I was able to prompt the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) to conduct a study at that location on the effect of acoustic harassment devices on harbor porpoise. It revealed that porpoises flee as soon as the devices are turned on. The Canadian Fisheries Act prohibits disbursement of whales, dolphins or porpoises. Despite this, four years later there are more acoustic harassment devices than ever and whales rarely come into these painfully loud waters anymore.

Ironically, the DFO study also showed that seals were actually attracted to the devices, not repelled. It appears seals have learned that where the noises exist fish are easily caught. It's a dinner bell. As a result, fish farmers still shoot hundreds of seals per year, including pregnant and lactating females.

In the case of salmon, international experts agree that introducing another species into the rivers of the five salmon already here is a game of Russian roulette. A high ranking DFO official wrote ten years ago, "Repeat shipments of non-indigenous stocks into BC will, with time, guarantee the introduction of exotic diseases." Then he continued granting permits for repeat shipment of Scottish Atlantic salmon into BC. It is difficult to fathom how someone can knowingly risk one of the most beloved and productive fisheries on this planet.

I have placed my research aside and resisted the temptation to head north so that I could study this issue and perhaps help minimize its impact. It

would be great if this industry really could help preserve wild stocks, but my conclusion is that no ecosystem has ever withstood the impact of corporate farming. In the marine environment, the impact is compounded because pathogens, escapees, drugs, deadly pesticides, antibiotics and anti-foulants flow into direct contact with wild fish.

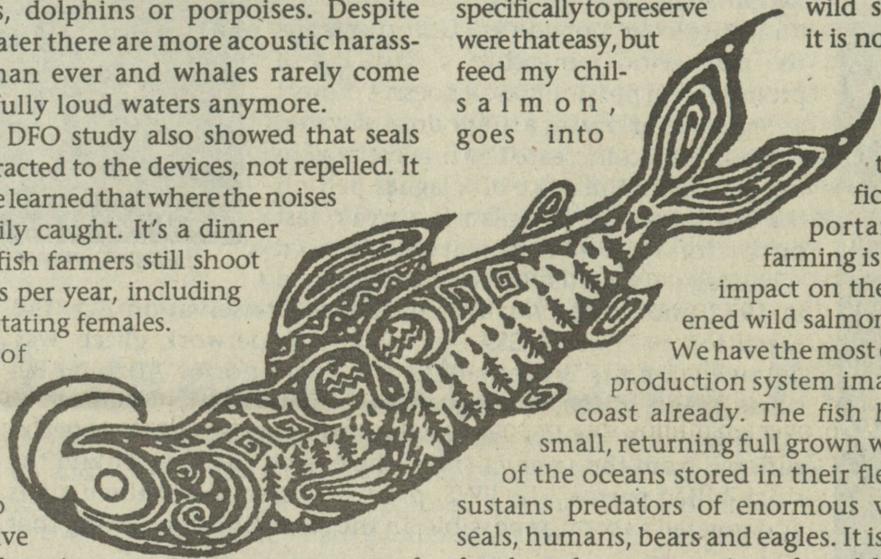
When the farms first appeared, well-written guidelines prohibited them from using salmon migration, feeding or holding areas, as well as important areas for other species. This policy was adopted by Norway after their wild stocks were threatened by the introduction of exotic parasites and pathogens. As soon as the guidelines were written, however, they were violated. Ironically, the farms destroy the richest waters on this coast, releasing their toxic chemicals and diseases directly into the most vital cradles of life in the Pacific Northwest which originally drew them there.

Around the world, wherever salmon farms have appeared, in Chile, Scotland, Ireland, eastern Canada and the US, there has been severe damage done to wild stocks and heated controversy. Salmon farming cannot coexist with wild stocks because it overtaxes the marine environment's ability to flush away deadly by-products. Places which can support hundreds of wild fish are now burdened with hundreds of thousands of domestic fish.

Many people express confusion at my attitude towards salmon farms, telling me they eat farm salmon specifically to preserve wild stocks. I wish it were that easy, but it is not. I would never feed my children a farm salmon, knowing what goes into them—even their color is artificial. But more importantly, salmon farming is having a deadly impact on the already threatened wild salmon.

We have the most efficient salmon production system imaginable on this coast already. The fish head out to sea small, returning full grown with the richness of the oceans stored in their flesh. This wealth sustains predators of enormous variety—whales, seals, humans, bears and eagles. It is not caged away for the sole consumption of wealthy people.

Humanity can only survive by relearning natural laws. Corporate farmers break too many of these laws, reshuffling the natural order with drugs, pesticides, hormones, anti-foulants, bioengineering, etc. They break the food-chain which sustains this planet, ripping the web of life into fragments for sale. We like to think we exist above natural laws, that we can outsmart them. Imagine if we used our extraordinary resourcefulness to ally ourselves with the tremendous power of the natural world, if not for ourselves then for our children.



Federal Closure Ruled Unconstitutional

BY LOBELIA AND GANDALF

On August 10, 1996, a diverse group of nine endangered their lives by entering the federal closure area surrounding the Horse Byars salvage sale near Breitenbush, Oregon. According to the US Forest Service (USFS), the 800-acre closure surrounding the 140-acre sale was necessary to protect the public's safety. Coincidentally, this danger to public safety was only fully realized after a blockade had occurred on the same logging road four days earlier. In the middle of being arrested for violating the closure, activists at the later protest were politely asked to wait in the road for an hour or so while the USFS dealt with a small arson fire up the road. The protestors politely did so, though not without fears that rogue logs might come crashing down the two miles from the site and kill them all. After arrest, they were driven to another closed area and waited for over an hour beneath the deadly trees, at which point their shoe soles were photographed and they were driven to the Marion County jail.

Their trial occurred on February 26. After several hours wait and a brief in-flight movie, Judge Ochoa of the Marion County District Court ruled that the federal closure order implemented to keep the public over two miles from the actual logging site was "unconstitutionally broad," and therefore was a "prior restraint" of the public's First Amendment right to gather and protest. Among the reasons he cited for the finding of unconstitutionality were preferential issuing of permits and the USFS's own statements that the primary purpose of the closure was to prevent interference with logging.

The judge also "reluctantly" denied the defense's motion to dismiss charges based on the state court's lack of jurisdiction over federal public lands. The judge clearly stated that, had additional evidence been introduced, he could have found grounds to grant such a motion. The implication of such a ruling is that future closure violations could be routed to federal court, where judges are more willing to dismiss such petty charges and more likely to fully consider constitutional issues. This could be devastating for the Freddie's, should it be pursued by other trespassing defendants. It is already rumored that the Marion County Sheriff will "opt out" of enforcing closure orders in 1997.

The most bizarre comment of the trial came from a sympathetic USFS law enforcement officer who congratulated the activists on their victory "working within the system." Apparently under the Salvage Rider civil disobedience was considered "the system."

It was an exciting victory, but a Pyrrhic one, since Horse Byars has already been logged by Freres Lumber. They can't take any of the logs out, though, since there is now an injunction on the sale. The closure has been lifted and the public is free to come visit the horizontal forest.

The fight may continue as the defendants have tentatively agreed to file a civil suit for false arrest and other damages. The prospect of losses from such suits is said to be the reason behind the rumored decision of the Marion County Sheriff to sit out this season of forest protests: so EFlers, even if we don't want the money from damages, civil suits can still be an effective tool for forest defenders.



Jaguar Imperiled But Unprotected

BY KIERAN SUCKLING, SW CENTER FOR BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY

El tigre, the jaguar, is the largest cat in the Western Hemisphere. Full of power and grace, it is a symbol of mystery and wilderness throughout the Americas. It is also on the brink of extinction. But the Arizona Department of Game and Fish, New Mexico Game and Fish Department and the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) don't want to list it as an endangered species in the United States. Neither do cattle ranchers, developers or federal predator hunters.

They are afraid protection under the Endangered Species Act (ESA) would require restoration of streamside forests or the slowing of development along the San Pedro River before it becomes as barren as the Salt River in Phoenix. The Salt River used to have water and trees. That was in the days when el tigre roamed wild through Arizona's river valleys.

Ironically, while the jaguar is listed as endangered in Mexico, where populations still roam remote mountains and rivers, it is not listed in the US, where hunting and habitat destruction have wiped out every single jaguar population and most of the streamside habitat where it dwelled.

Arizona Game and Fish wants us to believe that its recently created Jaguar Conservation Plan is so strong that protection under the ESA is not needed. Unfortunately, the plan is no more than a wish list of promises and possibilities. It doesn't protect a single acre of land or a single drop of water. It doesn't even increase the fine for poaching jaguars to the price of a jaguar pelt on the black market. The plan is a weak, last ditch effort to avoid real habitat protection.

The jaguar was first listed as endangered in 1972 under the Endangered Species Conservation Act, the precursor to today's ESA. In 1979, a paperwork glitch was discovered while Bruce Babbitt was Governor of Arizona. Because of this glitch, the jaguar was "inadvertently" delisted as endangered in the US. Three other Arizona endangered species suffered from the same mistake: the ocelot, the margay and the thick-billed parrot. The FWS promised then to list them all as endangered as soon as possible, in the meantime requesting that

"all Federal and State agencies... provide them with the same considerations, wherever possible, that they would receive as endangered species until such time as they can be listed."

A year later, in 1980, the jaguar was proposed for listing as endangered with a warning that the US Army's Fort Huachuca, on the San Pedro River, would be required to help conserve the imperiled cat. The

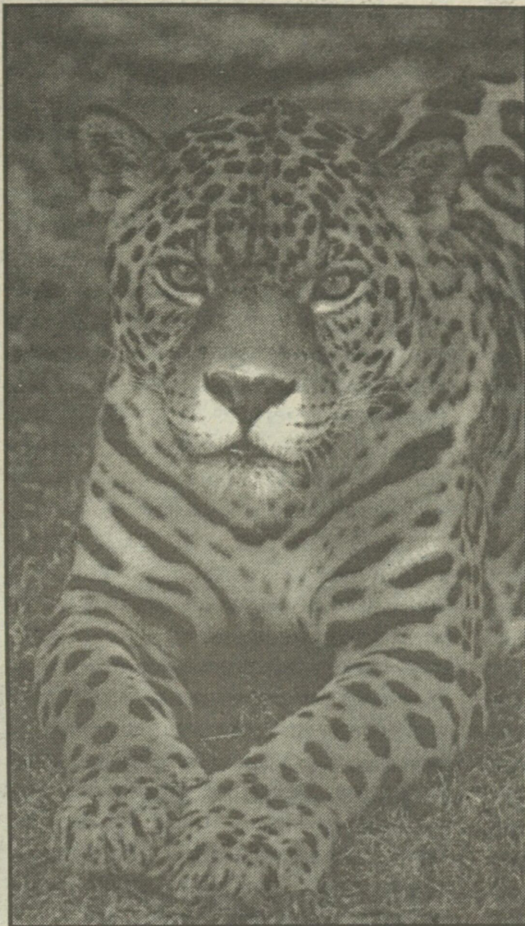
promised listing never happened. In 1982, the proposal was quietly withdrawn and hope for el tigre passed away—until 1994, when the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity filed suit. The FWS eventually repropoed listing the jaguar as endangered, citing "drastic distributional decline of the species and the continued jeopardy of any individuals in the US." With remarkable cynicism (and disregard for the law), however, the agency announced it would not develop a recovery plan, designate critical habitat or even reintroduce jaguars to Arizona. Not surprisingly, the agency failed to finalize the listing, prompting another Southwest Center lawsuit in 1996.

State conservation plans and cooperative agreements can protect imperiled species. State agencies can show the federal government how to conserve wildlife. But to do so, the states must ensure concrete habitat protection and strong anti-poaching laws. That's where the Jaguar Conservation Plan falls short. Its most concrete provision is a plan for a slideshow and an educational brochure. And then there is the clause permitting the Governor of Arizona to cancel the plan at any time. Imagine what Fife Symington, the man who recently offered to shoot a spotted owl and bulldoze the Gila River, would do with that option.

The jaguar has been betrayed by 30 years of false promises. With the exception of occasional sightings along the Mexican

border, it has become extinct in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and Louisiana. Like the Mexican gray wolf and the Apache trout, it deserves the full protection of the ESA. Like the magnificent feline it is, el tigre deserves our respect and protection.

Send a letter to Nancy Kaufman, the director of the FWS at PO Box 1306, Albuquerque, NM, 87103; or call (505) 248-6282. Tell her that you want the jaguar listed and protected, and not to settle for any namby-pamby conservation agreement.



The Jaguar Conservation Plan offers little protection.

Photo by Keith Silver

Federal Harassment in Cascadia

BY FIRECROTCH

Y'all mighta heard this crazy rumor about a grand jury investigation in Eugene, OR. The thing is, we really didn't have a grand jury, at least not a *special* one convened for the sole purpose of investigating the arsons at the Oakridge and Detroit ranger districts. But there most certainly is an active federal investigation being disproportionately focused on "no compromise" environmentalists of both the feral and desktop variety. In an attempt to harass and intimidate activists while gathering information to further disrupt the movement, FBI and USFS agents have been visiting folks from the redwoods to Stumptown, and they're probably at your meetings, too.

Consider the following: numerous activists and activists' families have been questioned (some at length) regarding other activists, Warner Creek, other high-profile actions and rallies and the arsons in Oakridge and Detroit. At

least three individuals were asked to identify photographs of activists and refused. A well-known activist household has been under not so inconspicuous surveillance by the FBI, BATF and possibly the Forest Service (USFS). Jeffrey St. Clair, editor of the *Wild Forest Review*, was visited by a USFS special agent who demanded his subscription list without success.

The US Attorney's office in Eugene has denied the existence of a special (i.e. political) grand jury, which would allow a secret trial to be focused on activists, effectively giving police agencies subpoena power. However, owners of a motel in Detroit who sponsored a rally had their guest records subpoenaed and delivered to the regular, monthly federal grand jury in Eugene. A business owner in Eugene was repeatedly visited by an FBI agent ostensibly to serve a subpoena with,

oddly enough, an incorrect name on the document. Even the regular grand jury can be used as a tool by reactionary law enforcement agencies for counter-intelligence.

I'm usually no conspiracy theorist, but *The War At Home* and other history has convinced me that the Feds are not above any scheme to destroy progressive movements. The arsons of USFS property were a political setback because they crossed the line from strategic wrenching by combining mindless destruction, which was intended to be perceived as ecotage, with our high-profile direct action. This alienated us from many real and potential allies within the agency and the public because the media connected our efforts to "ecoterrorism." The arsons were a scientific setback to the proposed Warner Creek (arson) fire ecology Research Natural Area and paperwrenching tactics which depend on monitoring data lost in the fire.

I can't think of a better strategy for a covert war against political movements myself. Phase one: mindless faux-ecotage guaranteed to slander us in the corporate media as terrorists, alienating us from our mainstream supporters and justifying phase two: use the investigation, including a grand jury, to harass, intimidate, disrupt and discredit our movement while gathering more information to further these goals. It's a good thing there was no arson section in *Ecodefense* 'cause then they might have some evidence against us. Nobody here will be surprised, though, if a special grand jury comes to town.

DON'T TESTIFY!

BUT, WHAT COULD HAPPEN?



1. You are one person who does not resist.
2. You have made real what they were only guessing.
3. You have increased your chances of being subpoenaed again.
4. You may be responsible for someone, perhaps yourself, going to prison.

"GULL-FREE" FOR ORV'S

BY J.A. HAGAR

In May 1995, despite public opposition, the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) began poisoning sea gulls on Monomoy Island Refuge in Chatham on Cape Cod, Massachusetts. The poisoned sea gulls flocked inland to freshwater ponds to die, not staying on the island where they could be tidily disposed of as they were supposed to. Though the 2,850 targeted pairs of great black-backed and herring gulls were supposed to perish quietly within 48 hours, some took as long as ten days to die of thirst and renal failure. Obviously stressed and suffering, the gulls were euthanized by local wildlife groups wanting to hasten a process that had been obviously botched and driven by incompetence. "We don't have any answer why that would be happening," FWS spokeswoman Diane Weaver claimed when confronted by citizens upset by the gulls' prolonged and pitiful deaths in freshwater sources.

Of the 1,185 herring and 726 black-backed gulls found, 35 percent perished on the mainland. Given the close to 6,000 birds targeted, this left a substantial number unaccounted for, probably lost at sea.

The plan to create a "gull-free" zone to enhance nesting opportunities for the endangered piping plover and roseate terns is politically motivated. The black-backed and herring gull populations have actually been decreasing in recent years in Massachusetts due to the state mandated closing of landfills and a decline in the fishing industry, both major food sources for scavenger birds. As the protected piping plover is also on the upsurge statewide and in the national seashore just north of the refuge, some might wonder why there is a need for this heavy handed assault on the gull in order to create "avian diversity."

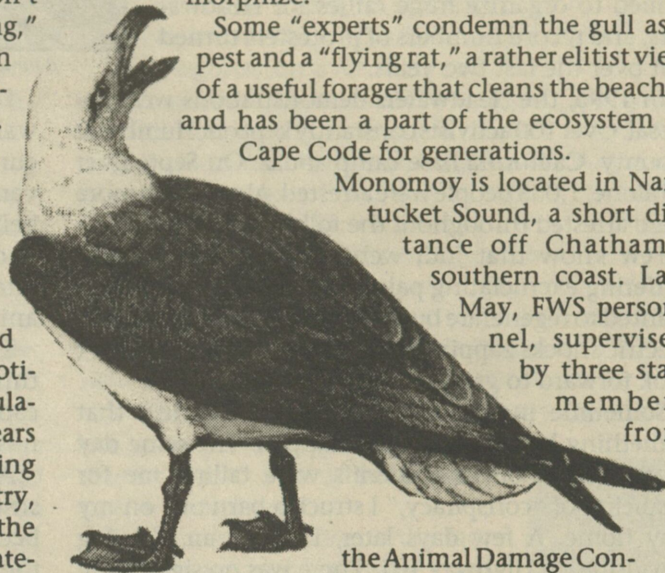
Off-road vehicle (ORV) enthusiasts, a powerful lobby in the state, are the political force behind the

ill-conceived "management" plan underway on the Monomoy Island Refuge, the only designated wilderness area in Massachusetts. Upset by the closing of many Massachusetts beaches during the nesting season for piping plovers, the ORV enthusiasts would be appeased if numbers of nesting plovers could be drastically increased, thus reducing pressure on other Cape Cod beaches which could then be reopened.

Local environmentalists initially expressed concerns over the poisoning project, predicting that the birds would not stay confined and would pose hazards to water supplies and other wildlife. To this, FWS's Weaver responded arrogantly, "People don't understand what it's about. They tend to anthropomorphize."

Some "experts" condemn the gull as a pest and a "flying rat," a rather elitist view of a useful forager that cleans the beaches and has been a part of the ecosystem of Cape Code for generations.

Monomoy is located in Nantucket Sound, a short distance off Chatham's southern coast. Last May, FWS personnel, supervised by three staff members from



the Animal Damage Control program, placed bread cubes laced with the avicide DRC 1339 in the birds' nests. Then FWS workers, wearing hip boots and rubber gloves and carrying black plastic trash bags, moved down the shoreline, picking up the bodies of the gulls that had succumbed to the poison. For the duration of

the poisoning, 350 acres on South Monomoy Island were closed to the public. Protesters were threatened with arrest and imprisonment if they set foot on the island.

Meanwhile, on the mainland FWS officials at first discouraged the euthanizing of dying birds, asserting that the public didn't know what was best for wildlife. However, when confronted with the extent of the damage they had caused they joined the volunteers.

Those who warned that the avicide was not as benign and species-specific as claimed by the service had their misgivings confirmed. Not only did the gulls take far longer than 48 hours (as FWS claimed) to die in an obviously agonized and painful way, but concerned citizens discovered that the pesticide is banned in two states. The compound, a chlorinated hydrocarbon marketed under a variety of names, is toxic to a broad spectrum of animals and was banned in 1996 in Missouri and California, both of which are agricultural states. Reasons for the ban include the poison's inability to break down and its toxic effects, which are also of concern to Cape Codders who are surrounded on three sides by ocean.

Public opposition, including demonstrations and threats of civil disobedience by Earth First! activists has cost the agency \$18,500 a day and caused the FWS, on January 31, 1997, to announce the postponement of the poisoning program. The poisoning program was to have cost a total of \$120,000 to kill between 5,000 and 7,000 birds over four years. Though the poisoning has been suspended for the above reasons, reports are that the FWS plans to continue the harassment of the gull population through alternative means, including shooting.

If you'd like more information on the seagull poisonings, contact: Provincetown Earth First!, 401 1/2 Commercial Street, Provincetown, MA, 02657; (508) 487-9513.

USFS SKY ISLAND GIVEAWAY ALLOWS MINING

BY BILL MOELLER

Steve Christiansen, Forest Service (USFS) lackey, must think we're stupid. Or else he is. When Tucson Mayor George Miller asked him why the standing-room-only crowd at city hall came out to oppose the Rosemont Ranch Land Exchange (between ASARCO mining and the USFS), even though ASARCO can exploit the resources with or without the exchange, Christiansen said he didn't understand the question. Without exception, the rest of the room understood the question.

Steve claims to be a process man. To me "process man" is just another way of saying bureaucrat. And he played that role well when he evaded a tough question with feigned stupidity.

The answer, of course, is that ASARCO could mine free of federal oversight if they held title to the land. And they've stated very clearly in the past that they consider federal oversight to be a hindrance. If the public still owns the land, ASARCO must be much more respectful of it, and respect chews a chunk out of the bottom line. There's also the touchy issue of reclamation. The USFS has a reclamation policy with a few more teeth in it than the Arizona State law, which allows mining companies to build a scenic overlook and call the old pit a tourist site.

ASARCO is very proud of its reclamation program, which involves cows, called ASARCOWS. These cows wander around churning up the soil, and I guess when they poop it spreads grass seeds that sprout and revegetate the

area. I don't know much about cows, but I've talked to people who do and they say that if ASARCO is planning on improving the land by grazing it, they must be really messing it up by mining. I don't like the sound of that.

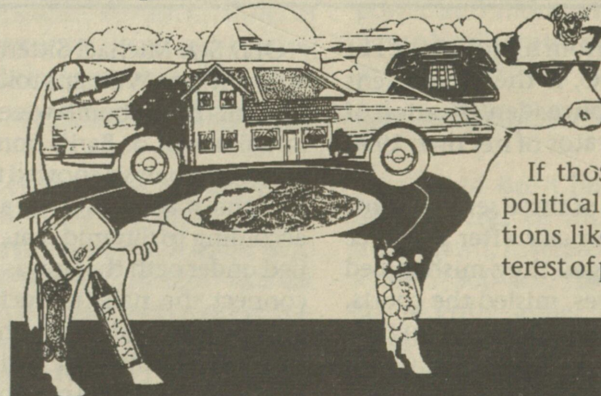
Anyway, we were all at this city council meeting because for just a minute we forgot how cynical we were and thought that the political process might work. We wanted the council to pass a resolution opposing the land exchange, essentially telling the USFS that the council's constituents were tired of the USFS giving away our land to money grubbing corporations who quickly lay waste to it.

Dale Dixon, head project development guy for ASARCO, has decided that he needs 13,272 acres of land in the northeast end of the Santa Rita Mountains. This mountain range, one of southern Arizona's grand Sky Island ranges, is about 40 miles southeast of Tucson. Dixon intends to trade 2,222 acres of privately held inholdings scattered around the state in 23 parcels for the 13,272-acre piece of land. What a deal! He already holds title to about 2,000 acres, which he absconded with back before the moratorium on patenting. This land contains a huge copper deposit, and it's here that Dale wants to dig a hole—but now he needs the additional land for his waste and other things.

This area is an important wildlife corridor between the Huachuca Mountains, the Santa Ritas and the Catalinas. I guess Dale figures the animals can jump over a mile-wide pit. When USFS Steve was stumped by the mayor's question, Dale decided to take a stab at it. He

responded that ASARCO doesn't want to have to resubmit a mining plan every four years for USFS approval, and that he will write a darn good plan up front and stick with it for 25 years. Now that left me a little confused because I thought a mining plan was constantly changing as the geologists track the ore deposit. But then it occurred to me that maybe Dale just doesn't want anybody to know what he's doing.

There's been concern around Tucson that by doing a land swap ASARCO could avoid having to do an Environmental Impact Statement on the mining operation. The environmental impacts of the exchange itself



are probably fairly small. Once they own the land they would be free to mine with impunity. I'm sure this looks good to a company that is Arizona's top polluter. Its smelting operation in Hayden has bagged that honor year after year.

So, it was an entertaining evening at the council chambers and after an eloquent speech by council member Molly McKasson, sponsor of the resolution, the roll was called and the resolution passed unanimously. This was a mighty

bold and progressive act on the part of those seven politicians, and one which at least momentarily restored my faith in the political system.

The moment, though, has passed. Mining is a supply and demand issue and stopping land exchanges and individual mines only deals with the supply side. To stop the poverty, pollution and desolation that is the legacy of mining, we must be prepared to take on the much bigger battle of overconsumption. This will never be accomplished with a roll-call vote. It will only be accomplished through a mass educational movement aimed at restructuring the foundation of our culture. As long as the demand for natural resources continues to grow, so will the extractive industries supplying that demand.

If those who have the wealth and political connections to stop corporations like ASARCO act only in the interest of preserving their own lifestyles, they will be condemning the poor and disenfranchised to live with the environmental degradation that they themselves can afford not to tolerate. Ultimately, we will all be screwed.

What you can do:

- 1) Write to Steve's boss, John McGee, Coronado National Forest Supervisor, 300 W. Congress, Tucson, AZ 85701, and remind him that the USFS is neutral agency charged with protecting the best interest of the public.
- 2) Write to Dale Dixon at ASARCO, Inc., 1150 N. 7th Ave., Tucson, AZ 85705, and tell him "No deal, Dale!"
- 3) Simplify your life and use less.

THE BIRD AND THE TREE—A TRIBUTE TO JUDI BARI

BY DARRYL CHERNEY

I have loved Judi Bari for as long as I've known her. We met, fell in love and combined organizing efforts for redwood preservation in early 1988. I used to refer to us as the bird and the tree. I was the bird, always flying about the country, playing music, my nervous energy constantly sending me toward some new, required destination. Judi was the tree. She remained in Mendocino County as much as possible, raising her two young children while ferociously organizing massive numbers of people through her numerous, effective mailings, phone calls, press releases and her feisty, eloquent appearances at demonstrations.

On May 24, 1990, as our romance was ending and our campaign for Redwood Summer was just getting underway, a pipe bomb exploded under the driver's seat of Judi's car while we were in Oakland. We were on a roadshow in which I sang, played guitar and showed slides while Judi played fiddle and speechified in her dynamic, humorous manner that has



"Don't Mourn, Organize!"

now become legendary. We had decided to take to the road a bit to get away from the death threats we had been receiving.

Judi was almost killed. The pipe bomb someone placed under her seat fractured her pelvis in ten places, paralyzed her right leg, pulverized and dislocated her two lower vertebrae and impaled her with a car seat spring. She suffered organ damage as well.

Then the FBI and Oakland Police Department showed up and accused us both of knowingly transporting the bomb. We were thrown in jail as the media repeated the FBI's lies, tarnishing our reputations as peaceful activists, as well as that of the whole Earth First! movement. Someone had tried to cut down the tree. They almost succeeded.

For the bird's part, I emerged relatively unscathed, with only minor injuries. The bomb blast was deflected away from me by the hump of the transmission in the middle of the car.

Since that time, Judi and I had a rocky but constant relationship. Together, we sued the FBI and Oakland Police Department. We continued to organize huge rallies for Headwaters, and record numbers of protesters turned out over the last two years.

In 1996, the Headwaters demonstrations were colossal. Over 100 activists constantly kept our Humboldt County, California base camp abuzz. On September 15 alone, 1,033 people were arrested. Almost 200 more were arrested throughout the following month.

Few know that Judi went to sleep every night suffering excruciating pain from nerve endings that wanted to regenerate but couldn't. She said it was like electric shocks zapping her all night long. She didn't look forward to growing old.

Sometime in mid-October, I began to feel that something bad was going to happen. The same day that I found out the sheriffs were tailing me for suspicion of "conspiracy," I struck a barn owl on my way home. A few days later, I struck an old dog broadside on Highway 101. There was no sign of the body when I returned. A day or two later I found an old deer skull sitting in the center of my driveway.

The next night I went to the base camp at Williams Grove in Myers Flat, which is comprised of huge, ancient redwoods. As I shut my car door at about 10 p.m. on that windless, warm night, an old-growth redwood crashed to the ground with a thunderous impact. The camp stood still, then circled up and shared its collective thoughts and prayers.

I told the story of my car experiences and my premonitions, expressing my fears that death was on the horizon. I warned everyone to be careful. Tensions between us, the cops and the loggers were at a high. I was afraid that one of our activists might get killed or badly injured. An ancient redwood falling in your presence is not to be taken lightly. I repeated an old expression I had heard, "The best prophets are those whose prophecies do not come true." Our activity level, however, did not offer much time for serious contemplation. We went back to our demonstration planning that night.



Bonnie Raitt, Judi Bari and Cecilia Landman before the 1,033 arrests

I struck one or two more animals after that. I walloped a deer on the head coming around a blind curve on a steep, 75-degree Mendocino hill. It vanished into the night. Then on Halloween, I believe I struck a cat that dashed between my front and rear tires near Berkeley, where I was staying after an action in San Francisco. I couldn't find that animal either.

Then on November 1, 1996, I learned the unthinkable. Judi Bari had been diagnosed with breast cancer that had metastasized to her liver. The prognosis was not good. The tree was in peril.

All of what had seemed important, the demonstrations, the people in jail, even the falling trees became irrelevant. The humanity of our movement, the shortness of our lives, the fear of facing the future stood before me (and all of us) like a brick wall we were about to hit at 90 miles an hour. I cried and cried and cried, mostly alone. The bird was still on the road. And it was the music on the car stereo that got to me every time. It was as though every song was written for Judi. When facing my friends, I was stoic. I felt mostly shock or nothing. But those times alone, in flight at night, is when it gets to me.

And I wonder: Will this bird ever land? And when it decides to, will there be a tree left standing for it to call home? And when do we stop and say that the people are trees too. That we are being cut down by the poisons, the bombs, our dysfunction and the pain of being left alone in the world, separated from our tribes, divided and conquered. And how will we ever get back? Or forward? My resolve is strengthened, though my heart is broken. The bird still loves the tree.

Ousted FBI Expert Adds Twist to Bari Bomb Case

The FBI bomb expert ousted from his job at the FBI Crime Lab in Washington, DC, is the same agent who played a key role in the police identification of Judi Bari as the alleged perpetrator of her own 1990 car bombing.

Agent David Williams is one of three senior agents removed from their lab in January after a Justice Department investigation alleged they mishandled evidence, and in some instances, misled the courts. Williams and the others also "played golf when they should have been at work, held weekly poker games while on duty, and kept gin in the office refrigerator."

Williams had major responsibilities in explosives investigations surrounding the recent Oklahoma City and World Trade Center bombing cases. As the FBI lab's chief evidence gatherer, Williams, examined evidence taken by the Oakland Police Department (OPD) from the site of a May, 1990 car bombing that crippled Bari and injured fellow Earth First! organizer Darryl Cherney. Williams linked nails found in the blast debris to some found in a carpenter's box at Bari's home, according to OPD. Revelations about Williams and the crime lab's tarnished reputation should bolster the civil lawsuit for false arrest against the FBI and the OPD.

OPD Sgt. Michael Sitterud has declared in a sworn affidavit that Williams told him that nails believed to be from the car bomb were the same kind found in an initial search of Bari's home. Williams said the FBI's crime lab analysis showed that the nails were made by the same machine within a batch of 200 to 1,000 nails, according to Sitterud. Later, however, Williams testified under oath that it was scientifically impossible to connect the nails in such a manner. Williams acknowledged under oath that evidence taken during a subsequent search of Bari's house failed to turn up anything that could possibly link her to the car bomb. Williams also said he thought it was "very unlikely" that he had made the nail claims, as contended by the OPD, because they were simply "erroneous."

Williams and the two other agents (Martz and Thurman) were criticized for their performance in the Oklahoma City case. Williams was the man responsible for collecting evidence in the case. According to the Inspector General's investigation, Williams allegedly gave inaccurate testimony at the trial of the bombing suspects. Despite the allegations, the FBI has said it does not believe that "any of the problems cited by the Inspector General will preclude anyone from receiving a fair trial."

IN MEMORY OF

*I hear the wind whispering,
its voice upon the leaves
I listen close and carefully,
it says these things to me.
Today the trees are crying,
for a protector now gone.
Who will stand in her place
to prevent man's wrongs.
We beg a moment's silence
from the buzzing of your saws
to grieve our fallen friend
and sing our mourning song.*

*A twig crack 'neath my knee
a right sound in this place
as I kneel and whisper prayer
for the lost brave face.
But I'm lapsed from quiet memory
by the chopping of an axe
And I rise again from the ground,
my fists clenched tight in rage.
Will these men never give in
'til there's naught but scrub and sage?
Rape the Earth for a buck or two
to feed the corporate slaves.
More must stand to stop them.
She would want us to.*

—SAMANTHA ANN PATTERSON

LOGGING, LANDSLIDES AND LAWSUITS

HEADWATERS FOREST VS. PACIFIC LUMBER

BY HUGH MOROSE

On February 18, the US Supreme Court dealt a major victory to endangered species in Headwaters Forest and on corporate lands across America. By refusing to hear Pacific Lumber's final appeal in the Owl Creek case, the court affirmed a precedent-setting ruling remarkable for its strong insistence that the Endangered Species Act (ESA) be enforced on private lands.

The case centered around a two-step clearcut proposed for 137 pristine acres of ancient redwood in the Owl Creek grove of Headwaters forest. The Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC), a nonprofit group that has been fighting alongside Earth First! to save Headwaters, first filed suit on the plan in state court almost seven years ago. The federal suit was filed in 1992 after Maxxam/Pacific Lumber twice defied the law and logged in the grove without approval.

Marbled Murrelet v. Pacific Lumber finally went to trial in 1995 and Federal District Court Judge Louis Bechtle affirmed the US Fish and Wildlife Service's determination that habitat modification constitutes sufficient "harm" and "harassment" to cause a "take" under the ESA. In plain English, this means that if a corporation destroys endangered species habitat so that a species can no longer live or breed successfully, that corporation is considered to have killed (or "taken") the species, regardless of whether or not actual dead critters can be found. Bechtle's decision upheld the opinion of reputable experts that the marbled murrelet, a threatened seabird dependent on old-growth stands for nesting habitat, would likely go extinct in California if any more of its habitat were cut.

In the context of the Clinton administration's largely bogus agreement to "save" Headwaters, this decision will have major implications. Pacific Lumber recently filed a draft Sustained Yield Plan (SYP), a long-term forest management plan designed to satisfy state regulations, as part of the agreement. The SYP lays out Maxxam's plans to liquidate four of the ancient groves of Headwaters (along with all of the other old-growth redwood on their land) over the next 15 years. In order to do so, however, they must also file a Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP), one of the many log-truck sized loopholes in the ESA which allows corporations a permit to "take" endangered species. Approval of an HCP is necessary to make implementation of the SYP legal.

Many Headwaters activists regarded the SYP draft as a confirmation of their worst fears about the agreement. However, the Owl Creek case puts federal regulatory agencies in the hot seat, because approval of an HCP cannot "preclude recovery" of a species. By approving the HCP/SYP that Pacific Lumber wants, the agencies would be sanctioning the destruction of over half of the remaining habitat of the marbled murrelet, while also permitting Maxxam to wreak havoc on dozens of species for which legal protection is not as stringent. The US Fish and Wildlife Service's own biologists came to

the conclusion that the murrelet needs every acre of remaining suitable habitat in order to have even a slim chance of recovery. The Coho salmon, already on the brink of extinction and gone from most of the streams that once teemed with spawning fish, is also scheduled to be listed under the ESA in April. Even state and federal bureaucrats and their "biostitutes" are now acknowledging that the HCP/SYP cannot be approved in its current form.

Although the situation looks better than it did a few weeks ago, the insidious dangers of this agreement are making themselves awfully clear. Members of Clinton's astoundingly slick Headwaters PR team are busy trying to schmooze with the very activists whom they have shut out of every meaningful negotiation over the years. The Headwaters scenario is starting to smell like a small-scale Option 9, with the stench of manufactured compromise (what columnist Alexander Cockburn would call "coercive harmony") wafting over every conversation. Clinton and his cronies (including Maxxam's head pirate, Charles Hurwitz, and his Senatorial ally, Dianne Feinstein) desperately need to create an appearance of participation with environmentalists in order to sell the public some half-assed, "win-win solution" later on. Luckily, most of us are smarter than they are, and we know that our power lies in the grassroots strength that made "Headwaters" a household word in the first place.

Even more disgusting is the fact that these agency bozos refuse to do their jobs unless citizen groups like EPIC work for years through the courts to slap them into shape. They apparently regard mere enforcement of existing laws to be some sort of dangerous revolutionary concept, rather than just what it is: a regulatory responsibility to uphold public trust values such as clean water, clear air and thriving wildlife.

Even the laws of this dollar-driven land dictate that private property rights end where protection of the public trust begins. Maxxam/Pacific Lumber recently clearcut and roaded a steep hillside above the tiny Humboldt County town of Stafford with the full approval of the California Department of Forestry. In an echo of the tragedies across Oregon in recent years, the hillside failed in a major storm this winter, inundating the town with mud and destroying most of its homes. Residents had only minutes to evacuate and were lucky to escape with their lives.

Pacific Lumber's liquidation forestry has also choked streams in local parks with silt and gravel. Hillside failures on corporate land above Humboldt Redwoods State Park have buried the stream channel of Jordan Creek, one of many former salmon-bearing creeks, under 15 feet of debris. Agency unwillingness

to uphold the public trust is allowing corporations to threaten our wildlife, or water, our parks and even our lives! In this respect, Clinton's weak-kneed attitude toward defending the public trust against "takings" lawsuits filed by corporate welfare kings represents the most disgusting kind of complicity.

These snivelers are not only abandoning their responsibility to protect these values, but also requiring the public to shoulder the burden of paying for whatever is deemed picturesque enough to save. Again, the Headwaters "agreement" is a case in point. Buried in the fine print of the deal is a complicated land swap through which thousands of acres of national forest land in the Sierra Nevada will be traded to Sierra Pacific Industries (California's largest private landowner) in exchange for the timber property on Elk River, a critical buffer area to the north of Headwaters Grove. These lands provide essential habitat for dozens of rare and threatened flora and fauna, yet wildlife surveys have not been completed on many of the parcels. Furthermore, trading these properties under the Headwaters agreement would undermine the efforts of Sierra activists who have previously arranged Forest Service acquisition of unique inholdings in the Sierra ecosystem. In short, these land swaps function to divide and conquer activists by trading one ecological catastrophe for another, even as they set a dangerous



Horizontal marbled murrelet habitat at the "salvaged" All Species Grove

precedent by requiring the public to pay for preservation. Clinton and company have demonstrated this pattern in Yellowstone and Southern Utah, and they're bringing their multi-million-dollar sweepstakes to California's redwoods.

Earth First!, EPIC, Trees Foundation and others will continue to focus their efforts on building support for a "Citizen's Alternative" to the Headwaters agreement. This grassroots movement has tremendous power and momentum, and we will resist any attempt by Clinton's smooth-talking cronies to drag us into a situation of compromise.

MAXXAM'S LARGEST INVESTOR SCOLDS HURWITZ

California's public employees' pension fund is pressuring Maxxam to back off threats to log Headwaters Forest if a proposed \$380-million deal with the Clinton administration collapses.

The \$108-billion fund, which handles the pensions of more than a million state and local government workers, holds about \$15.2 million worth of stock in Maxxam Inc., Pacific Lumber's Houston-based owner.

"If any of those towering redwoods start falling, the public outrage would be incredible. It could be the beginning of Maxxam's financial ruin," said Patricia Macht, spokeswoman for the pension fund, California Public Employees' Retirement System (CALPERS). "As a major stockholder, we're very concerned about that."

Pacific Lumber President John Campbell objected, "It's unfortunate that usually very responsible people are being led astray by environmental leaders who are waging a false and misleading campaign" against the proposed Headwaters deal. Maxxam representatives have warned they will try to remove valuable downed timber from Headwaters and other nearby groves if the deal collapses.

Whether Pacific Lumber could, however, is in question after a US Supreme Court decision not to hear the company's appeal of a permanent logging ban in one 170-acre redwood grove. The pension fund's position, expressed in a letter from CEO James Burton to Maxxam chairman Charles Hurwitz, is the latest development in a campaign on behalf of environmentalists mounted by three of the state's largest school employee unions—the 180,000 member California School Employees Association, 75,000 member California Federation of Teachers and 7,500 member Faculty Association of California Community Colleges. The unions have gone on record in

support of the Clinton administration acquiring 60,000 acres of mostly cut-over Pacific Lumber timberland, instead of sticking with plans to create a new 7,500-acre Headwaters preserve. Union leaders recently asked CALPERS to do "whatever it takes" to influence Maxxam to relinquish 60,000 acres in any final deal with the government.

Macht said pension fund administrators aren't taking a position on whether the government should acquire the 60,000 acres, nearly ten times the acreage agreed upon during negotiations among politicians and Hurwitz. But, in a warning to Hurwitz about logging Headwaters or other nearby groves Burton wrote, "there are so many negatives that will result from cutting—the public outcry and a potential legislative backlash are obvious. But perhaps the most significant result will be Maxxam's resulting reputation in the market. You will be perceived as a pariah, unable to easily raise new capital when needed. These negatives seem to far outweigh the actual value of the cut timber."

World Bank and Eastern Europe Collaborate on Forestry Projects

BY TOM FULLUM

World Bank gets itchy fingers in Russia

After a two-year delay, the World Bank is finally ready to release its *Russian Federation Forest Policy Review* to the public. Pending publication of this report, the Bank has held off financing forestry projects in the vast old-growth forests of Siberia and the Far East. But with Russia's cash-starved economy, an eager national forest service and a potentially willing lender, this situation may soon change.

Two potential Bank-financed forestry projects have recently come to the attention of forest activists. Last fall, a US Forest Service memo circulated among the agency seeking personnel with Russian language skills and experience planning large salvage sales. At the request of the World Bank, a team of specialists was to go to central Siberia to help the Russian Federal Forest Service prepare a funding proposal for a massive salvage operation to control a Siberian silkworm infestation across two million acres. The memo mentioned salvage of a mind-boggling 625-750 million board feet of timber. The project has yet to materialize, and the team never went to Russia. However, \$5 million in Bank funds from an environmental management project in Russia were reallocated to spray biological control agents in silkworm infested areas.

Little is known about a second World Bank project. Apparently, an environmental studies class at the University of California Santa Cruz has been contacted by a consulting firm for a World Bank project that intends to dredge logs submerged years ago when loggers floated them down streams. Whether or not either of these projects becomes a reality, it is clear that Russia and the World Bank are intent on collaborating on forestry projects.

Albania borrows millions to jump-start logging

Last year, Albania signed a loan agreement with the World Bank and Italy to borrow \$21.6 million over the next six years to stimulate its ailing forestry sector. The project is primarily con-

cerned with retraining and restructuring the Albanian forest service to more effectively exploit forests within a market economy and includes transformation of this government agency into a "Forest Corporation." Funding is also provided for 53 forest management plans over 400,000 acres, road maintenance in these 53 areas, pre-commercial thinning and minimal reforestation. One positive component of the project

funds an action plan to prevent illegal logging, a serious problem in the country, but this plan is tied to lifting Albania's ban on timber exports as soon as 1998. Only two percent of the project budget addresses protected areas, even though the 1995 environmental assessment of the project clearly outlined the creation of 27 new protected forest areas, many of which contain old growth. The Albania loan comes amidst mounting World Bank activity in the forestry sector of central and eastern Europe in recent years. With recent civil unrest in Albania, including armed resistance, it is likely that the project is on the back-burner which bodes well for Albania's forests.



Croatian World Bank loan signed

In November 1996, the World Bank signed another forestry loan, this time with the government of Croatia for \$42 million. Although ostensibly designed to reforest coastal areas destroyed by the war and to provide the Croatian forest service with equipment and infrastructure to fight forest fires, the project raises questions over possible salvage operations, reforestation by plantation, and the use of exotic trees. It also reveals continued misunderstanding of the ecological role of forest fires, which plagues fire-dependent/adapted forests in every corner of the globe.

In neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina, the World Bank has circulated a proposal for an emergency project to fund logging and road building to reduce Bosnia's dependence on imported construction materials for postwar reconstruction. The Bank would supply \$8 million of the \$35 million project budget and the European Union is likely to provide additional financing of \$13 million.

For more information, contact Tom Fullum at the Ecology Center, 1519 Cooper St., Missoula, MT 59802; (406) 728-5733; e-mail tfullum@wildrockies.org.

RADICAL BABOONS

Baboon assaults

Motorists on one of South Africa's busiest highways were pelted with showers of stones thrown by a troop of rampaging baboons. Officials said that three attacks had been reported on the N1 between Cape Town and Johannesburg, where it passes through the spectacular Du Toit's Kloof Pass. No injuries or crashes resulted from the sneak attacks, and police engaged the primates in "running battles" in an attempt to drive them off.

Baboon revenge

More than 30 angry baboons killed a man out of revenge in the Tororo District of southeastern Uganda, according to a report from the *New Vision* newspaper. A local council official said that the human victim, Okecho, killed a male baboon for damaging his maize and banana plantations.

More than 30 other baboons converged at Okecho's compound and "mourned like human beings" before carrying their fallen comrade into the forest. Neighbors said that the animals later returned and stormed the farmer's house, knocking down the door. A *New Vision* reporter who reached the scene saw Okecho lying in a pool of blood with a large hole in his chest where the heart had been pulled out.

—From Steve Newman's "Earthweek: A Diary of the Planet."



Koffee Kills

BY GIN PHLEGM

Your coffee habit is pushing numerous American songbirds to extinction. A direct link between deforestation for coffee "sun plantations" and the decline in songbird populations has been reported by the Smithsonian Migratory Bird Center. Familiar backyard birds—orioles, warblers, thrushes, hummingbirds and others—spend their winters between Central and South America. The new sun plantations are not only threatening songbirds, they are equally inhospitable to the native cats, otters, howler monkeys, bats, reptiles and amphibians.

Studies have shown that at least 150 species of birds live in the traditional shade plantations which contain a canopy of fruit trees and endemic trees over the coffee bushes. Recent studies in Guatemalan sun plantations have counted half as many species, and some plantations are seemingly void of wildlife.

Oriole populations in the US have declined by one-fifth in the last decade, and one-third of the wood thrush population has vanished since 1966, according to the National Biological Service.

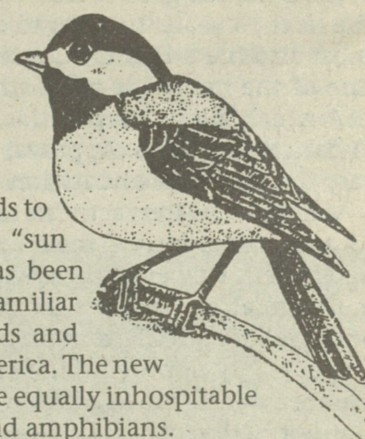
The use of sun plantations has increased dramatically in the past 30 years. It's estimated that half of the available coffee-growing areas in Latin America, northern South America and the Caribbean have been converted to treeless, monocrop plantations.

Sun-grown coffee requires heavy doses of fertilizers, pesticides and other chemicals, and the deforestation increases erosion on the steep hillsides where coffee is usually grown. Additionally, the combination of fertilizers and increased sun exposure causes the coffee plants to burn out in 15 years, whereas shade-grown plants live up to 50 years.

Two decades ago the US Agency for International Development (AID) promoted the theory that coffee grown in the sun can produce four times the yield of coffee grown in the shade. AID spent \$81 million encouraging growers to yank out their existing coffee bushes, and the trees above them, and to replace them with three or four times as many coffee plants. The original goal was to stop the spread of a coffee disease that was believed to have thrived in the shade. The disease turned out not to be a threat, and it actually spreads faster in the sun.

The large coffee companies have responded to the sun/shade controversy by calling for more studies. Jeanne McKay, a spokeswoman for Starbucks, the largest specialty coffee chain, says that although the company has signed a pledge of environmental responsibility, it declines to sell organic coffee, which is almost always shade-grown.

"We don't want to confuse our customers with too many choices," McKay said. "We're very concerned about the land in coffee-producing countries, but our first and foremost concern has to be coffee quality."



Reunion Rampage at Newbury Bypass

BY ALEC SMART

Billed as a "Reunion Rampage," environmental protesters returned in January, 1997 to the construction site of the controversial Newbury Bypass for an intended three days of work disruption. Two flyers circulated for the event. One, with a cartoon of a spread-eagled climber wielding a monkeywrench, encouraged "non-violent direct action." The other advertised a "fence decorating" session, exhorting protesters to bring "ribbons, photos, poems... to create a living mural of hope." The former was pitched to "rampage" on January 9 and 10, the latter for the 11th. As events unfolded, the converse occurred.

Late on the evening of January 9, around five affinity groups formed, plotting methods to gain access to the various compounds established along the nine-mile route. The compounds are enclosed zones where the road building is underway. The bulldozers, diggers and on-site management portacabins are stored within, surrounded by a 10-foot-high steel mesh fence. Overnight the compounds are illuminated by generator-powered floodlights, resembling some prisoner-of-war camp. Jokes were circulating of the attempt to storm "Stalag Luft."

At 3:30 a.m. the first group departed to make an assault on what was once the lush tree house village of Snelsmore, now just a barren bulldozed plane of rubble. Thames Valley Police (jokingly referred to as

TVP after the dehydrated vegetarian soya mince) were on hand in large numbers to repel all invaders. The contractors, Costain, had drafted extra security to hold the forts as well.

Over the next few hours, raids were attempted on the Chase and Kennet canals. At Kennet a few people gained entry for long enough to clamber aboard digging equipment before being arrested for the criminal offense of aggravated trespass. Thus, it was a largely unsuccessful day of actions. There were nine arrests.

On January 11, the Friends of the Earth rally and fence-decorating demonstration began somewhat peaceably, with over 1,000 people assembled, and then marched along part of the bypass route in the damp mist. A group of police officers loitered by the railway station, gathering evidence, filming protesters and intercepting those whom they recognised as having conditional injunctions (from last year's long eviction of 20-plus protest camps, which resulted in over 900 arrests). Sadly, those recognised were hauled-off for further criminal proceedings.

On reaching the works area the crowd lined the fencing, but instead of decorating it, some deconstructed it and soon hundreds swarmed into the muddy, machine-ravaged sector. The TVP officers, many on horseback, and site security were overwhelmed, putting up little resistance as the seething mass teemed over the digging equipment and a crane. Whilst police, the media and Highways' Agency security filmed everyone that moved, a rhythm was beaten out with a rock on the bonnet of a huge, earth-moving lorry and the air was liberated from its tyres. The 25-ton vehicle unceremoniously deflated and settled into the orange mud, then was dispatched to oblivion as it was ignited and consumed by fire. The 15 or so climbing all over it soon abandoned the burning hulk. The contractors' portable huts then began to belch smoke, flames devouring their flammable computer and furniture interiors. Many ran, fearing that the dumper truck would blow, not realising that a diesel motor will not explode.

Friends of the Earth's executive director, Charles Secrett, condemned the arson, but in his address to the rally declared, "because of the Newbury protest, we will never see a road like this go through again." Indeed, contractors Costain may never see another road's construction project. The company is fighting off liquidation, and the estimated £75,000 damage caused by the site invaders might just push them over the brink. In July 1996, Costain, who'd won the Newbury bypass project (estimated in 1996 to cost £101 million) had to call an emergency general meeting. They were financially "rescued" in a share package deal by the Malaysian firm, Intria. On September 6, '96, at their annual general meeting, 300 environmental protesters, possessing one share each, dominated the proceedings. Only 100 other shareholders were present. The security camera was turned to face the wall, and the new Malaysian director refused to answer questions put to him about Costain's involvement in the Newbury Bypass. He cited "commercial sensitivity."

Another emergency general meeting was held on January 6 this year, as Costain's share value has apparently fallen below 50 percent of their capital value as a listed company.

Of course, the arson mayn't be attributable to the usual "pixies" or "elves" often blamed for such misdemeanours. At the Rickey Bridge works site, two security guards from Pinkertons reported witnessing "spectral presences." Suspecting ghosts from the nearby 17th century civil war battlefield, one

imaginative fellow allowed himself to be interviewed by BBC Radio 4. He asserted, "There was some protester activity. A security officer reported seeing some shadows. I went down with a torch to investigate. I saw a human form, no defining features... a clear mist floating across the garden."

The Archbishop of Durham Cathedral, Canon Michael Perry, added his weighty judgment, saying "Things that have happened in specific locations... some people have managed to plug into them... Sometimes building works disturb certain memories... it's so irrational the whole thing." Hmmm.

Independent traffic studies have indicated that only 15 percent of Newbury's serious traffic congestion will be removed by the Bypass once it's built. This would be heavy goods lorries primarily. Researchers state that there are 4,800 through-journeys by heavy goods vehicles per day on the existing A34 Bypass. Newbury's

first Bypass was constructed in the 1960s and is now clogged-up with five roundabouts allowing for cross-traffic from housing estates, industry and those great motorcar attracters—superstores.

Along the new Bypass, 700 planning applications for "in-fill" have already been submitted, including estates for 5,000 new houses. So the problem will repeat itself.... The public was not informed in two enquiries in 1988 and 1992 that the new Bypass was to be part of a network of Euro-routes, this sector connecting Glasgow to Southampton, Portsmouth and Plymouth for ferries to northern Spain and southern France.

Local Liberal Democrat Member of Parliament David Rendel, one of the Bypass's most ardent supporters, is well aware that Newbury residents have been conned into accepting a major trunk road as a solution to local traffic problems. He was quoted in the *Newbury Weekly News* on April 1, 1993, (So who's the April fool?), "The benefit of the Bypass would only last a few years, as Government figures predicted Newbury traffic would be back to present levels by the end of the century." (Hey, but that's only three years away!) He expressed it so concisely, "The Bypass is being

built to speed the traffic flow from Southampton to Birmingham and back, rather than to solve Newbury's problems."

On January 11, just before this recent torching, Rendel appeared to be changing tack, perhaps to dampen his original zeal. He blamed ministers for letting Newbury down by refusing to pay more than £100,000 for traffic-calming measures (councillors sought £686,000). The councillors were hoping to stop new local traffic from being drawn into town when the Bypass opens in 1998—a bit like shutting the gate once the horse has bolted. So, plans to mark-out cycle lanes and pedestrianise the town centre will have to be shelved. Methinks that the existing pro-bypass residents are in for an unpleasant surprise when all the new residents begin driving into town for work and domestic duties... Shall the rest of us say "told you so?"



There was plenty of evidence to be gathered after the bulldozer burned.

Photo by Alec Smart

Old-Growth Mahogany Cut in Belize

BY RICK SPENCER

For 4,000 years the Maya have inhabited the land around what is now the Columbia River Forest Reserve, but mahogany logging may soon force them off their traditional lands. The government of Belize has just granted 200,000 acres of the reserve to Malaysian logging interests. This move threatens ten Mayan villages or one-half of the Mayan population.

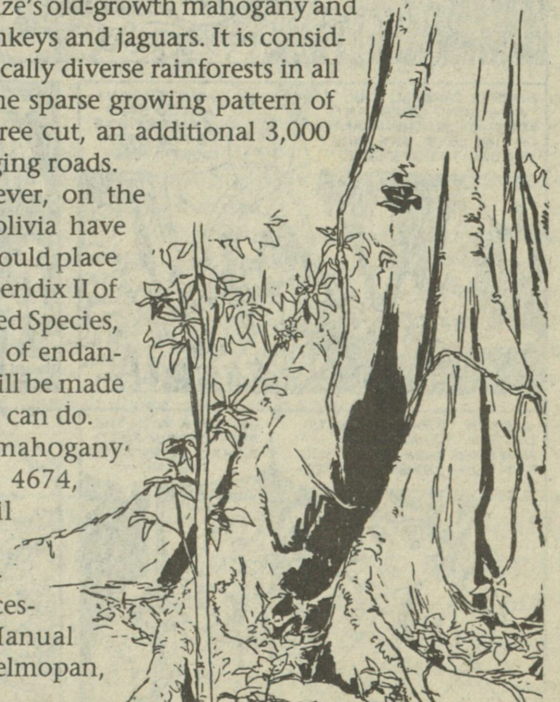
Many of the Maya practice sustainable agriculture, rotating crops and using the forest canopy to their advantage. With this logging invasion, many people will be displaced and others will have their land scarred, ruined for their responsible form of agriculture.

The reserve contains most of Belize's old-growth mahogany and is also home to tapirs, howler monkeys and jaguars. It is considered to be one of the most biologically diverse rainforests in all of Central America. Because of the sparse growing pattern of mahogany, for each mahogany tree cut, an additional 3,000 square feet will be leveled for logging roads.

We do have good news, however, on the mahogany front. The US and Bolivia have agreed to a joint proposal which would place Latin American mahogany on Appendix II of Convention in Trade of Endangered Species, the entity that controls the trade of endangered species. The final decision will be made in June, and there is still a lot you can do.

For more information about mahogany, write us at Earth Culture, POB 4674, Greensboro, NC 27404; e-mail earthcul@nr.infi.net

Write Belize's Prime Minister urging him to cancel logging concessions on Maya lands: Hon. Manual Esquivel, Prime Minister's Office, Belmopan, Cayo District, Belize.



FOR SALE OR TRADE— Old-Growth Forest on Public Lands

BY MIKE PETERSEN

Want to trade some old-growth forest for overgrazed cliff faces? Our government does, and the many land swap proposals throughout the West seem to signal the beginning of a new corporate land rush. Last summer, a phone call from a concerned Bureau of Land Management (BLM) employee alerted several conservation groups to the cushy relationship between timber corporations and the agencies charged with stewardship of our public lands.

Unable to continue the clearcut-and-run style of logging on public lands, timber corporations have found a new scam to continue liquidating ancient forests—land exchanges. With the help of intermediaries, such as Clearwater Land Exchange, based in Orofino, Idaho, familiar corporations such as Boise Cascade, Plum Creek and Weyerhaeuser are gaining title to valuable old growth and critical habitat and trading them for thousands of acres of clearcut or overgrazed lands. One recent exchange saw Trillium Corporation obtain and log old-growth Alaskan yellow cedar, some trees as large as six feet across.

In northeastern Washington, the BLM plans to trade away 4,500 acres of mostly unlogged parcels, all with valuable timber. In exchange, the BLM would receive 25,000 acres, including part of an old ranch that has been grazed for decades, logged-over Boise Cascade land, and sagebrush steppe with little commercial value—all in need of extensive restoration. An economic analysis of this trade shows that the BLM would be giving up over \$20 million in valuable timber in exchange for overgrazed scrublands and deforested acreage worth less than \$3 million.

Supposedly, a fair appraisal system is used by the agencies, but often the timber companies and land exchange companies write the appraisals. The appraisals are only occasionally

checked by the government. Valuations based on stumpage prices, rather than market prices, make the trades appear equal. The values of wildlife, clean water and recreation are not considered.

The Northeastern Assembled Land Exchange involves the exchange of 75,000 acres in Oregon. While information has been difficult to obtain from the BLM, it is known that numerous parcels containing stands of old growth are proposed for disposal. The area to be acquired is overgrazed, high-graded land along the North Fork John Day River. With the intent of restoring damaged bull trout habitat, the BLM will let the cows remain, supposedly better managed.

The Huckleberry Land Exchange in Western Washington would trade 32,000 acres of cut-over Weyerhaeuser land for 6,000 acres of valuable National Forest. The carrot is a small chunk of land near the Alpine Lakes Wilderness Area. Residents of Greenwater, living downstream from the lands Weyerhaeuser would obtain and log, are very concerned about flooding and degraded water quality. An appeal of the Huckleberry Land Exchange has been filed by Pilchuck Audubon, Huckleberry Mountain Protection Society and the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe.

Wildlife surveys and timber stand exams on private lands are often performed by the land exchange companies. In many cases, the federal agencies do not even have legal access to the lands they hope to acquire until after the trade is completed. Impacts on many species, such as neo-tropical migrant birds that may find refuge in old-growth stands on federal land, are not even considered.

In nearly every trade, property owners with land adjacent to BLM timber parcels will not be able to participate in a competitive bidding process, as these lands will be exchanged to timber companies in a package deal. A

letter obtained in a BLM Freedom of Information Act request derided the efforts of adjoining owners to keep Boise Cascade from obtaining public lands and revealed a cozy relationship between Clearwater Land Exchange and the BLM staff. Outraged residents in Washington complain that trading public land to Boise Cascade will degrade nearby water quality, lower property values and destroy remnant pockets of low elevation ponderosa pine habitat.

The rights of Indian tribes are also at stake, and public law includes language giving tribes first-buy rights on traditional territories adjacent to their lands. RS 2455 authorizes the Secretary of the Interior "...to order into market and sell at public auction... any isolated or disconnected tract... which, in his judgment, it would be proper to expose for sale... Provided, that for a period of not less than 30 days after the highest bid has been received, any owner or owners of contiguous land shall have preference right to buy the offered lands at such highest bid price...." In response, the BLM believes that the preferential right was taken away with the Federal Land Policy and Management Act in 1976 and that these are exchanges and not sales.

In some cases the agencies see an opportunity to obtain rare or threatened habitat. For example, the BLM believes that obtaining sage-steppe habitat in Eastern Washington is desirable for ecological concerns. However, restoration is expensive and uncertain in this era of government downsizing. Some rangelands are so damaged that they will never recover their original plant communities. Some restoration dollars have already washed downstream as willow plantings were swept away during annual high water events. The costs of rehabilitating the overgrazed and cut-over lands that will be received by the BLM will be an ongoing tax burden to the American people.

Consolidation of land is another reason the BLM/Forest Service gives for land exchanges. A map of most states shows a bewildering mix of private and public lands. The northern tier states (Washington, Idaho, Montana and North Dakota) have a swath of alternating square-mile sections slicing through them. The 1864 Northern Pacific Railroad Grant gave the railroad ownership of millions of acres of forest land. Despite disputes over returning those lands, Northern Pacific Railroad, later Burlington Northern, then Plum Creek Timber Co. have sawed their way through this checkerboard, clearcutting literally every section they controlled.

The wildlife and fisheries caught in this deadly chess game have been decimated, and the agencies are attempting to consolidate ownership. In the Huckleberry Land Exchange, Northern Pacific railroad lands were sold to Weyerhaeuser, who now wants to trade some of that cut-over land back to the Forest Service. While consolidation might allow better management by the Forest Service, Weyerhaeuser won't be logging the area for decades in any case. Returning land to tribal or public ownership through revision of the 1864 Land Grant is a better option, but one that will be complicated by the proposed trade.

The problem with this consolidation is one of perspective. The BLM is mandated by Congress to consolidate its isolated parcels to more effectively manage its lands. But, the abused land may take decades, even centuries, to heal. Restoration money is often not available, depends on tax money, or on cutting more trees to finance projects. Trading forested land to timber corporations signs a death sentence for those lands. Corporations don't acquire these lands to set aside for future generations.

This February, Plum Creek Timber Co. (known as the Darth Vader of the timber industry) attempted to broker a deal to buy public land in Montana. The money would pay off part of the cash settlement for stopping the New World Mine near Yellowstone National Park. They backed off only after stiff opposition from hunters, Forest Service retirees and other conservationists. This scheme would have allowed Plum Creek to log and then give Crown Butte Mining Company the mineral rights!

The Kettle Range Conservation Group, Blue Mountain Native Forest Alliance, Oregon Natural Resources Council, Oregon Natural Desert Association and Portland Audubon Society have taken the BLM to court to stop the eastern Oregon and eastern Washington land trades. In addition, these groups, along with Pilchuck Audubon, Northwest Ecosystem Alliance and the Huckleberry Mountain Protection Society, have asked Washington Senator Patty Murray and Oregon Senator Ron Wyden to request a General Accounting Office investigation of the method in which the BLM handles its land exchanges throughout the West.

To exchange information on land exchanges, contact the newly formed Western Land Exchange Task Force directed by Janine Blaeloch. Their address is POB 95545, Seattle, WA 98145-2545.





Restore the Skokomish River

Skokomish: People of The River

A request from Gordon James, Skokomish Tribal Council Chairman:

Restoring flow to the North Fork Skokomish River is a matter of survival for our Tribe. We have put forward a pragmatic proposal for substantially restoring the River that would produce enormous public benefits at minimal cost to the City of Tacoma and federal government. We ask that you add your voice to our broad and growing base of public support.

Sobiya (Bruce Miller) of the Skokomish Indian Tribe, located on the Olympic Peninsula of Washington State, tells of his people's origin:

"This is where the story of the North Fork began. In the time when the first human beings lived on this land and were learning how to survive. Learning from the animals at the beginning of what we would call history.

The chief of the Dog Salmon now knew it was time for his daughter-in-law and his grandchildren to return to the land of their mother's birth. The killer whales are the guardians of the great salt waters. They escorted our ancestors, the Dog Salmon People, from the great salt water that we call the land of foods, all the way back to where Hood Canal and the Skokomish River meet.

It was here they danced the dance of the Salmon People. Hands on their hips, back and forth they danced, out of the water on their tails. When they reached the home of their mother, they danced from the water on to the land. Now they were humans. And it was they who became the ancestors of our Skokomish People. And it was at this time that our ancestors vowed to honor the Dog Salmon People

with the first salmon ritual, till the end of time."

And of their history:

"The lands of our people once included a vast area of land, several major rivers, and an inland body of salt water, Hood Canal, on the Olympic Peninsula.

Almost one-hundred and fifty years ago we signed a treaty granting nearly all our territory to the U.S. government. We reserved a small reservation at the mouth of the Skokomish River for our permanent homeland.

Then, in 1926, the City of Tacoma built two dams on the North Fork of the River. The reservoirs submerged the river valley and natural lake. The lower dam diverted all of the River into a pipe to generate electric power. **Our Elders remember:**"

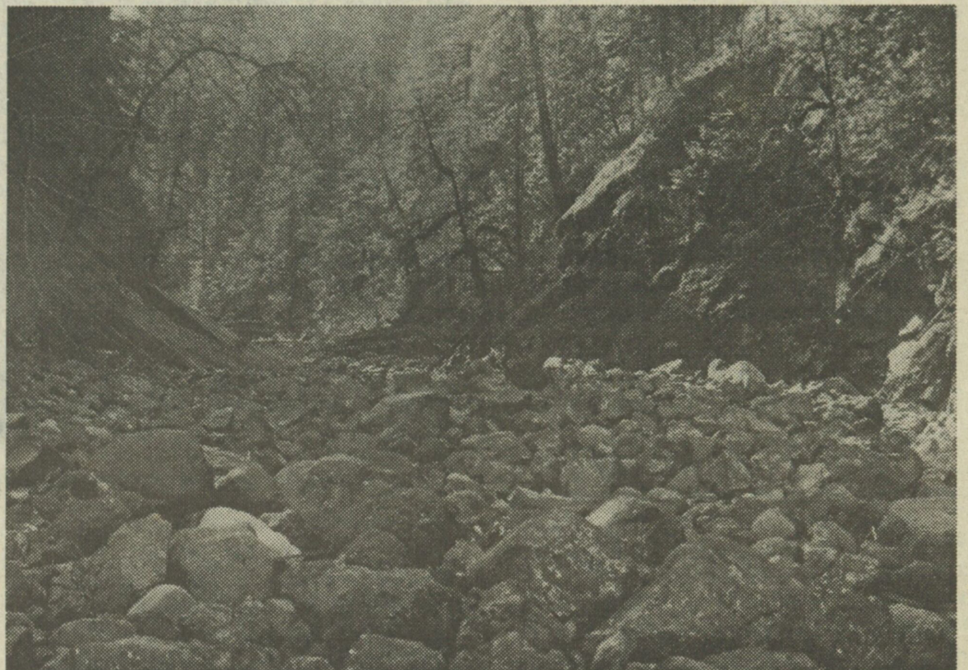
Jeanne Evernden says:

"The City of Tacoma wished to build a dam on the Skokomish River. Our people were opposed to this because the River is their livelihood. It's very important to them for the food they gather for the winter time. But we had no one to represent us. To put in a good strong voice for us. So we lost and the city of Tacoma built the dam and we lost the River."

Helen Rudy explains:

"This is a fishing community. Fishing in the River was their whole living. It would be like taking away your livelihood.

Of course, they didn't think it mattered. They thought we were all going to die off anyhow. So, what's the difference? They tried to make us die off, but we wouldn't. We wouldn't die."



North Fork Skokomish River After the Water Was Diverted

Joe Andrews, Sr., the last remaining Tribal Elder who fished on the North Fork before the dam was built, has spent his life trying to restore the water to the River. He recalls what fishing on the North Fork was like:

"I was born in Old Town of Tacoma, Washington on September 13, 1913. I am a member of the Skokomish Indian Tribe...I have lived most of my life on the Skokomish Indian Reservation and I have fished in the Skokomish River system from about 1917 to the present time."

"When I was about four years old, I began fishing with my stepfather, Skokomish tribal member Henry Allen. We fished for coho as far as the canyon area of the North Fork of the river. Sometimes we traveled by canoe from the reservation to within about one-half mile of the Lower Falls on the North Fork."

"I also went on fishing trips to the North Fork with my family and other people from the Skokomish Reservation before the dams were built on the North Fork by the City of Tacoma. We camped above the canyon and went by trail down to the river from the camp. We went on these trips mainly to fish for king salmon near the Lower Falls. I saw kings jumping and going over the falls. The kings were big fish, 30 to 40 pounds. At that time, a thirty pound king was about average size. I could only pack one or two of them at a time up the trail to the camp.

There were many people from the reservation who went to the North Fork to fish. Some of the people I remember fishing there were my grandfather Kimball Sherwood, McKinny Pulsifer, Tom, Louisa and Jake Pulsifer, Joe Young and his wife, the Petersons, the Jameses, George Contraro, the Wilburs and the Adams family. Some of them stayed there and smoked their salmon before they returned to the reservation. I remember that Frank Allen, Henry Allen's older brother, kept a lean-to on the lower North Fork near the forks of the mainstem of the river. Sometimes on our trips to the North Fork we stayed

overnight at Frank Allen's camp. Allen and his wife lived in the lean-to when they fished at the North Fork. They smoked their salmon in one end of the lean-to.

We didn't have to go to the North Fork to fish. We had salmon, steelhead and other fish in the mainstem of the river almost all year, but in the North Fork we could catch all the fish we wanted in a short time. We also went to the North Fork for a change. People visited and exchanged meals. We picked berries and my mother gathered cedar roots for making her baskets. There were large elk herds in the North Fork area and many deer, bear and beaver. We hunted and trapped throughout that area."

"After the first dam was built in 1926, I continued fishing in the North Fork a little below where the second dam is now, near the Lower Falls. There were good fishing holes there. They were clear and deep.

I remember that water was released from the first dam. My stepfather, Henry Allen, told me that representatives of the City of Tacoma had told him that water would be released from the second dam just as they had released water from the first dam. When the City of Tacoma finished the second dam, they diverted the whole North Fork at the dam. There was no water released from the second dam. If a person wanted to see how the fishing has been damaged, they just need to go to the North Fork in the summertime and look. There is not enough water for escapement and the water doesn't get high enough in the winter to keep the river bed cleared of beaver dams. When some fish do make it up there to spawn, the fry are just stuck in those pot-holes. They just get trapped in there and make kingfisher feed."

"This River of ours has provided a lot of fish, trout, and enjoyment. I miss my enjoyment of pulling up there in my canoe and camping. The game was plenty and the berries. It was a paradise. If I had my way, I'd say, 'Put that water right back where she belongs, and leave it alone.'"

North Fork Skokomish River Before the Water Was Diverted



"Skokomish means People of the River. For Thousands of years the Skokomish People have depended on the River for their livelihood. It is our umbilical cord, the lifeline to our people...Years ago the Tribe lived in balance and harmony with the River...the fish runs were plentiful, enough for all."

...Gale Longshore, Skokomish Tribe

Stealing the Skokomish River

"We had a wonderful River there and now we have nothing," states past Skokomish Tribal Chairman, Joseph Pavel.

In November 1996, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) released its final Environmental Impact Statement (FEIS) with its recommendations on the City of Tacoma's license application to continue its illegal 65 year diversion of the North Fork Skokomish River. The FEIS indicates FERC has decided that the River, which for thousands of years provided cultural, economic, and spiritual sustenance for the Skokomish Indian Tribe, belongs to the City of Tacoma to continue to do with as they wish for the next 30 years.

THE PROBLEM

Since 1930 when Tacoma completed its unlicensed Cushman project, on the Olympic Peninsula of Washington State, the city has diverted the River to their Hood Canal power plant, destroying the Skokomish watershed in the process. Some project works illegally occupy Skokomish Reservation land, prompting a lawsuit against Tacoma by the federal government.

"This is a fishing community. Fishing in the River was their whole living," according to Skokomish Elder Helen Rudy. To the Tribe, Tacoma's taking of the River "would be like taking away your livelihood."

In the early 1920's the Washington Department of Fisheries considered the North Fork and mainstem Skokomish "among the most important and valuable food salmon spawning streams in the State of Washington." Illegally built without fish passage, the dams block salmon from 84% of the North Fork, and reduces flow of the River below the lower dam by 96%. Some North Fork salmon runs, once among the richest in the Pacific Northwest, are now extinct and others nearly so.

Tacoma's Cushman project has done more than destroy the salmon runs. Tribal Councilmember Gale Longshore says, "I've seen tribal people lose their homes. I've seen tribal people forced to move because the flooding is so bad. I've seen tribal members having to raise their homes to accommodate floods."

Diversion of the North Fork has dewatered the mainstem Skokomish by 40% drastically reducing its sediment carrying ability, causing it to silt up. It is now 1/3 original capacity. During the heavy winter rains severe overbank flooding now occurs both on and off the reservation. "In the end, if our interests aren't looked at, we will no longer be the People of the River, we will be the people of the swamp," states Gale Longshore.

TACOMA PROFITS FROM DESTROYING TRIBAL RESOURCES

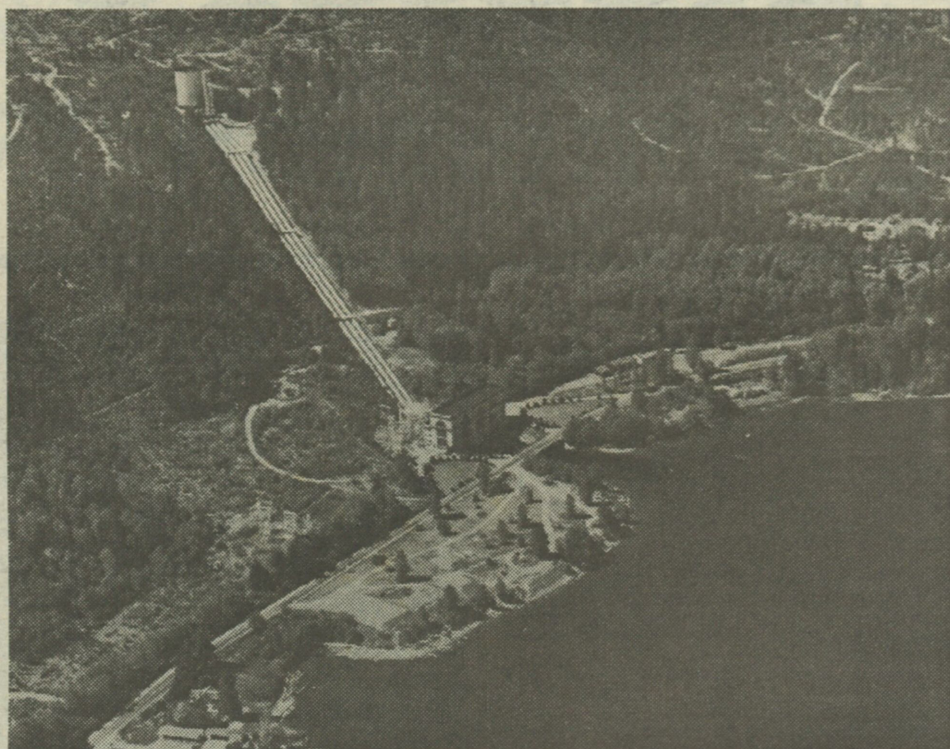
Past Skokomish Tribal Chairman Joseph Pavel told Tacoma, "You're producing power that we're paying for. You act like it's cheap, but it's not cheap."

In their efforts to restore the watershed, the Skokomish Tribe has been forced to quantify the harm the project has done to them and the general public; the Tribe estimates damage upwards of \$2 billion. This includes destruction of the salmon fisheries, loss of shellfish and marine fish in the Skokomish estuary, loss of wildlife, loss of the Tribe's treaty protected usual and accustomed fishing, hunting, and gathering sites, loss of their cultural sites, and damage to the Skokomish Reservation located at the mouth of the mainstem Skokomish River on Hood Canal.

FEDERAL AGENCY ACTS AS TACOMA'S BUSINESS AGENT

Ignoring harm to the public from the project and their legal mandate to protect the public interest, FERC's economic analysis in the FEIS discusses only purported costs to Tacoma should the flows be returned to the North Fork. They also ignore the City's "excess revenues" (profit) from 70 years of Cushman operation, valued today at \$1 billion. When asked to address the true economic cost of the project, FERC wrote, "This exceeds the scope of our analysis of project economics."

Absent from the FEIS is an analysis, promised the Skokomish Tribe, of restoring



Tacoma Pipes the North Fork to Their Hood Canal Power Plant

full flows to the River. Although they admit this would benefit the fisheries, FERC is unwilling to consider this alternative which is supported by the Tribe, federal, state, and local resource agencies, and conservation organizations for the benefit of all. Instead they recommend, in violation of state law banning out of basin diversion, that Tacoma be allowed to divert 2/3 of the North Fork and be required to return only 1/3 to the river-bed.

The Cushman project produces 4% of Tacoma's power sales and the FEIS fails to disclose the low cost to Tacoma residents of returning the River to its bed. Last November, the City admitted to a Seattle news program that shutting the Cushman project down would cause, at most, a slight increase of Tacoma residential electricity rates. The Tribe's estimates support this. Tacoma can restore the river and retain their low power rates - half the national average and 15% below the Pacific Northwest.

THE SOLUTION

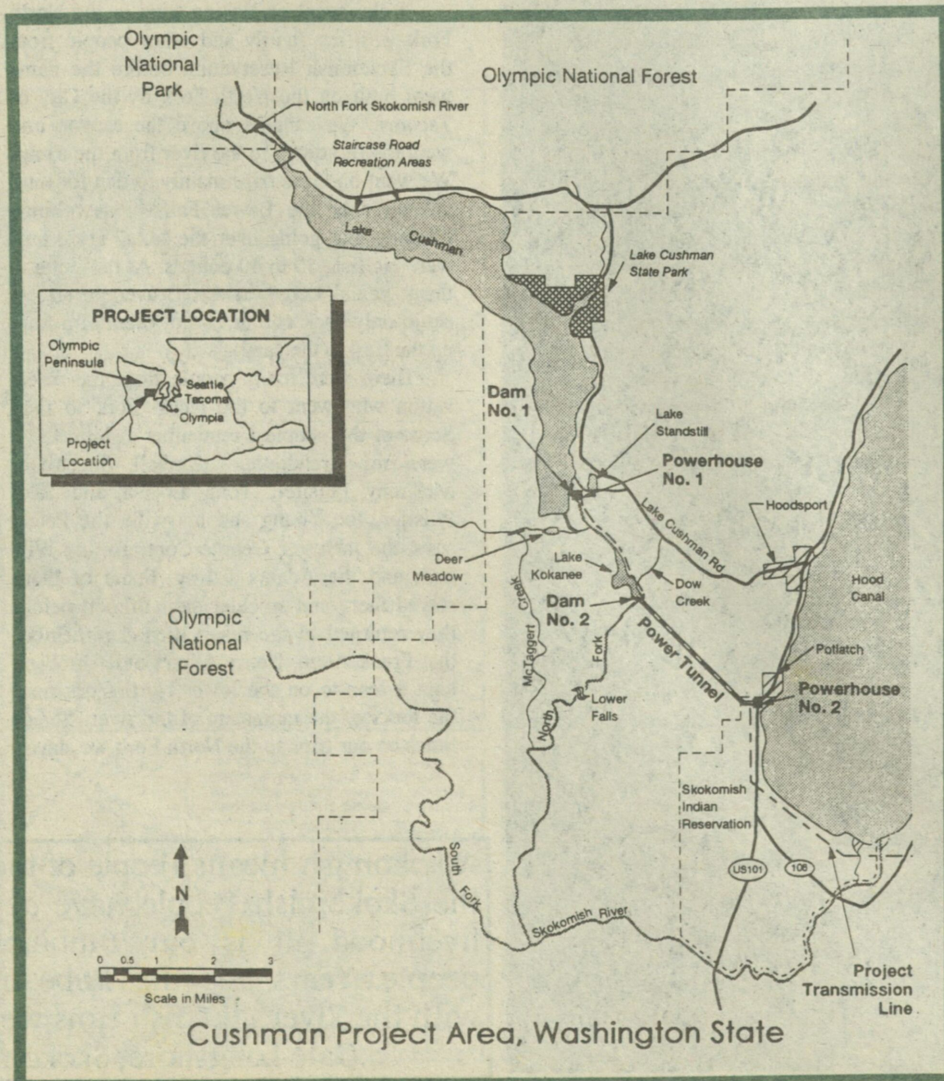
In partnership with resource agencies, conservation groups, and local residents, the Tribe is now completing a plan for restoring the Skokomish watershed. Return of substantial flows to the North Fork is a critical component. This will wash out accumulated sedi-

ment and provide needed water and habitat for salmon.

Cushman project construction, operation, and maintenance were not licensed by the federal government; the only license the project has is to flood 8.8 acres of federal land. Lack of licensing means the federal government failed to provide required environmental oversight; they share responsibility with Tacoma for project related damages. The federal government should also share the responsibility to resolve the problems caused by allowing Tacoma's irresponsible operation of the Cushman project.

Since Tacoma refuses to return the water to the North Fork and FERC staff recommends against requiring them to do so, the Tribe is proposing a legislative solution to this dilemma (see sidebar). They want federal involvement in the Cushman Project: Tacoma would retain the upper dam and generating plant but be bought out of the lower dam (which diverts the North Fork) and the Hood Canal power plant. Project damage mitigation would be split between Tacoma and the federal government.

As Skokomish Tribal Elder Joe Andrews, Sr. says, "Put that water right back where she belongs and leave it alone."



Skokomish Tribe's Cushman Settlement Approach

December 1996

The Tribe has presented to the Congressional delegation, Tacoma, and federal and state agencies a win-win approach for settlement of Cushman issues that would put water back in the North Fork, mitigate for continued project effects, and provide for a tribal economic recovery fund. The proposed settlement approach is designed to rely on future revenue generated by operation of the Cushman Project in order to minimize the need for federal dollars. The settlement approach outlined below was proposed by the Tribe as a starting point for settlement discussions.

The Tribe's Global Settlement Proposal would:

- Stop the ongoing devastation of public and trust and treaty-protected resources, including the Skokomish Indian Reservation.

- Keep Tacoma in an economically viable hydro-project (Cushman 1), while meeting its environmental protection and mitigation obligations.

- Use project revenues to minimize cost to the Treasury.

- Eliminate the need for tribal lawsuits against Tacoma and the Federal Government.

Skokomish Tribe's Approach to Settlement of All Cushman Project Issues - At A Glance

- 1) FERC would offer Tacoma two licenses: a 50-year license to operate Cushman 1, and a 7-year license for Cushman 2 as a precursor to federal ownership of 2.

- 2) As payment for Cushman dam 2 and powerplant 2, during the first 7 years of operation Tacoma would take \$20 million out of project revenue plus another \$7 million in other considerations.

- 3) \$20 million of project revenues during the first 7 years of operation would be used to fund high priority mitigation measures.

- 4) Cushman 1 would be operated by the City of Tacoma basically as it is today. Cushman 2 would be operated to provide a minimum flow of 240 cfs, plus 25,000 acre feet of storage for flow tests.

- 5) At the end of 7 years, Cushman 2 would pass into federal ownership and be operated with priority on non-power values, i.e., to substantially restore the natural flow of the North Fork Skokomish River.

- 6) Tacoma and the federal government would split \$50 million in additional mitigation.

- 7) Net project revenue from Cushman 2, supplemented with a congressional appropriation, would be used to aid the Tribe's economic recovery from project impacts.

- 8) The Washington Congressional delegation would introduce and FERC in its licensing decision would recommend passage of a "Skokomish River Watershed Restoration and Economic Development Act of 1997" to ratify and authorize appropriations to implement the preceding.

- 9) The Act also would authorize an appropriation to construct when economically feasible a power plant at Cushman Dam 2 to capture the energy potential of restored North Fork flows.

- 10) The net revenue from this new power plant would be used to fully reimburse the U.S. Treasury and contribute to the Tribe's economic recovery.

Elders Remember the North Fork

Bertha Visser states in a 1982 affidavit:

I was born on the Skokomish Indian Reservation on April 3, 1903. I am of Skokomish descent. My father, Henry Allen, was a Skokomish tribal member and my mother, Alice Hawk Allen, was a Yakima tribal member. I have lived on the Skokomish Indian Reservation for all my life.

From 1911 to about 1918 I attended Cushman Indian School in Tacoma. Each year I returned from school to my family's home on the reservation during the summer months. We often went fishing at the falls on the North Fork of the Skokomish River. There were two falls on the Skokomish North Fork downstream from the original Lake Cushman: the upper falls and the lower or Little Falls.

I saw my father and other people catch salmon and steelhead with nets and spears at the upper and lower falls. Sometimes, we and other families dried our fish while we were camped along the North Fork.

Chinook and coho salmon jumped the lower and upper falls. I personally observed coho and chinook salmon and steelhead trout in the North Fork Skokomish River upstream from the upper falls, near Lake Cushman.

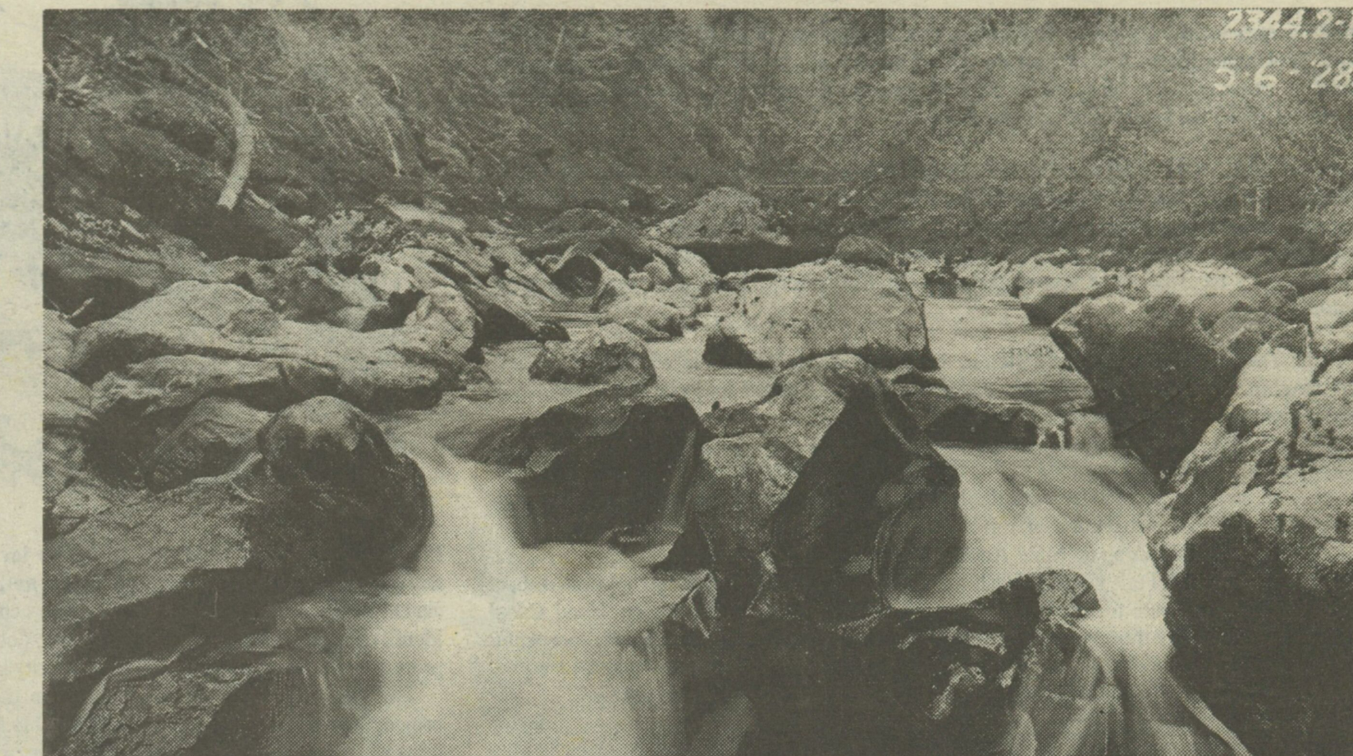
Before the dams were built on the North Fork, my father fished and hunted all along the Skokomish River North Fork and around Lake Cushman. My mother gathered bear grass and cedar roots for baskets in the same area.

Sometimes, a game warden would cut our nets and warn us that we must stop fishing at the Little Falls, but we kept on fishing there anyway.

I, and other Skokomish people, continued to fish at the falls during the time when the dams were being built. After the first dam was completed in 1926, we fished at the lower falls. They released a certain amount of water from the upper dam and the fishing wasn't so bad. But when the lower dam was finished in 1930, it diverted the water from the river and there was no longer any good fishing on the North Fork.

Georgia Miller remembers the River:

I was born on the Skokomish Indian Reservation on December 31, 1903. I am of



Lower/Little Falls on the North Fork Skokomish River Before the Water Was Diverted

Skokomish descent. My father, George Adams, was a Skokomish tribal member and my mother, Lela McClair Adams, was a member of the Yakima Tribe. I am a member of the Yakima Indian Tribe.

I have lived all my life on the Skokomish Indian Reservation. I have observed the Indian fishery and I have knowledge of the chinook, coho, chum, pink and steelhead runs in the Skokomish river system before the dams were built on the North Fork in 1926 and 1930.

After I was 6 years old, from about 1910 to 1930, I went to the Skokomish River North Fork on fishing and gathering trips with my family and other people from the Skokomish Reservation. We camped above the North Fork and went down steep trails to the river for fishing. My father and others often speared salmon up there. There were so many fish, it was easy. They would stand on the rocks and the fish would just be milling around. Nets were set below the falls where the water was

calmer.

I remember that the fish they caught in the North Fork were beautiful, big salmon. They fished for spring salmon there and later they would go for the silvers. We fished at both the Upper and Lower Falls. After the first dam went in, we fished at the Lower Falls until the second dam was built.

The Lower Falls were about 10 or 11 feet high, but they were kind of gradual. There were big pools with rocks around and then there would be a waterfall and another pool. Then the river would flatten out to where there was a dam in there and the fish jumped into this pool and then from that pool they would jump into the next pool. Then there would be a side pool and the fish would finally make it to the top of the falls and they would go on up to old Lake Cushman. It was a beautiful formation, about as wide as my old house. I remember watching the fish trying to jump the falls. Quite a few of them made it.

The Upper Falls were bigger than the Lower Falls but of a similar formation. There were no obstructions to fish between the Upper Falls and Lake Cushman before the first dam was built in 1926.

My grandmother Mary Adams, the Petersons, Dick Lewis, my father and other people from the reservation traveled to the North Fork for berries and fish and the women gathered bear grass, cedar bark and long cedar roots. My uncle, Archie Adams, hunted elk and deer and trapped in the North Fork area.

I remember when the City of Tacoma built their dams on the North Fork. The Skokomish people all protested, but Tacoma just came in and condemned whatever lands they wanted. After the dams were built, the fish quit running and the river got smaller. They took away all the water flow over the Lower Falls. I remember that every two years there used to be a humpback season, but after the dams were in, the humpback run stopped.

Young Tribal Members Know the Importance of the River

Serena Gouley Said at a Public Hearing:

As a member of the Skokomish Tribe and community, I feel it is my obligation and duty to give my opinion, feelings, and concerns on the Cushman Dam issue...First a little background on myself. I'm an enrolled Tribal member, born and raised in this area. I'm the oldest out of eight children, all born, raised, and living on the Skokomish Indian Reservation. My mother and my father live on the reservation, as well as my two children and numerous other members of my family. They are all good, decent, hard working people.

I'm very proud of my family and my Indian heritage. I have done my share of exploring, living and traveling different areas, but I always knew I would come home to raise my family.

Living in this area, you have the feeling of closeness, security, and roots. We still face

many hardships. Not only do we have economic problems, we also face a lot of overt and covert prejudice. The mistreatment of my Tribe, as well as many other Indian nations, has had an everlasting effect on our social and economic well being.

From the very beginning of our existence, our Tribe has relied and prospered on the land. We have always supported our families from the land, the water, and the River. To this day the majority of our Skokomish men support their families by fishing, shell fishing, and hunting. It is really sad to see our fishermen and women running out of fish to catch. Our Tribe is not very large, our numbers are small. How much can we even take compared to the many numbers of the white men?

In the beginning our people were thought to be heathens, lower class human beings. It was not really considered to be much of a

crime to mistreat, trick, cheat, or even rape an Indian. Tacoma Power and Light tricked and cheated our people in the beginning. To this day they are still trying to trick and cheat our people.

Our coho fisheries were shut down this year, as well as our chinook fisheries, and we all know why. Essential water which nurtures and rears these and other species has been utilized for other interests, particularly big money interests. Now our Tribe is still being persecuted and condemned for wanting what was promised to us by federal treaty. Our families need to eat, just like everybody else. We have the right to provide for our families the way we were brought up and accustomed to.

Tacoma Power and Light needs to repair and make reparations for the damages they have caused. They have made millions upon millions of dollars off our land, our River, and our People.

I work for the Skokomish Fisheries as a fish technician. I see the small returns. Moreover, I see the economic devastation that is occurring. I am fortunate enough not to solely rely on fishing and shell fishing to support my family. I do have family members that do rely solely on treaty fishing...You know, me and my family, we're not greedy people. All I want is enough to be comfortable and provide for me, and my family, and my parents.

It took a lot for me to come up here and stand in front of a bunch of people. Every day I can walk around, and with all the propaganda going on against Indians, our numbers are so small, and I can walk down the road in Hoodspoint and I can see somebody that will just give me ugly looks just because my skin is brown. My children are brown, and I have to fear for them because of all the stuff that's

going on with Cushman and our rights.

Anyway, I felt like I had to say something because there's not many of us and there's a whole lot of everybody else.

Karla Miller, Tribal Youth explains: "How Cushman Dam Affects Me"

A couple of teens and I recently took a tour on the Cushman Dams. We got much information that was disappointing to us. We learned how the City of Tacoma pretty much stole our land. This land that had once been ours belongs to the City of Tacoma and has since 1924.

As I understand it, the North Fork now runs through three pipes to a power plant. From there the water is turned into electricity. The electricity is sold by the City of Tacoma and all the profits go to them. I am very disappointed that none of this money goes to us.

These dams cause the river to have less water, so less water means less fish. Fish are very important to us. For most of our people, fishing is a way of making a living. My dad fishes for a living and every year fishing seasons are becoming shorter. My mom says that fishing seasons would be longer if the dam was not there because the dam blocked the path for the sockeyes. The sockeye need to spawn in the lake and as long as the dam is there we will not be able to fish for them.

All this information makes me very sad inside. Today the Skokomish Reservation is only seven square miles. Our land floods often and some people have had their homes damaged or even lost. I am unsure if I will be able to teach my children how to fish because there may not be any fish for my children to fish for. I wish that the City of Tacoma would quickly stop this project. It's on our land and we do not benefit from it at all. Hopefully the City of Tacoma will find some piece of compassion for us and stop this project.



Roger Fernandes

APPLICABLE LAWS, COURT DECISIONS, AND E.O.'S

National Environmental Policy Act: Requires a detailed analysis of all alternative uses for the North Fork Skokomish River. Rather than do the required analysis, FERC recommends against the substantial return of the water to the North Fork because it would raise the cost of Cushman produced power above the lowest market price available.

Federal Power Act: "In deciding whether to issue any license...the Commission...shall give equal consideration to...the protection, mitigation of damage to, and enhancement of, fish and wildlife (including related spawning grounds and habitat)..." Ignoring the more than \$2 billion in damage from the project, and Tacoma's "excess revenues" (profits) valued at \$1 billion FERC claims it would be too costly for Tacoma to restore flows to the North Fork. Does this constitute equal consideration?

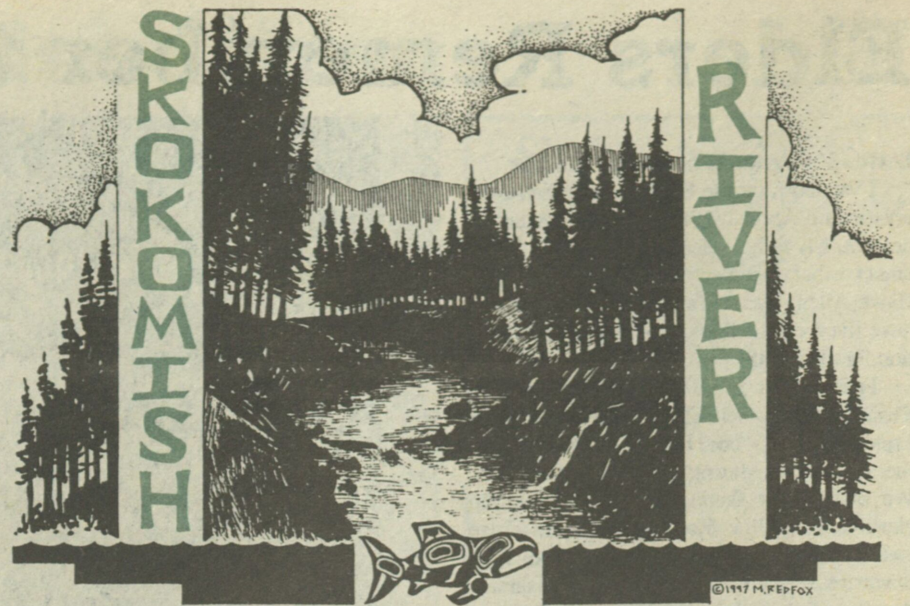
Udall v. FPC: The U.S. Supreme Court stated in this decision that "the test is whether the project will be in the public interest." FERC's advocacy for Tacoma's financial interests does not constitute consideration of public interest.

Federal Power Act: "Nothing contained in this chapter shall be construed as affecting or intending to affect or in any way to interfere with the laws of the respective States, relating to the control, appropriation, use, or distribution of water..." Federally licensed hydroelectric plants must adhere to state law. The Washington State Attorney General's office states that Tacoma's out-of-basin diversion of the North Fork violates Washington State Water Law. Although Tacoma did get a state water rights certificate to divert some water from the North Fork to their Hood Canal power plant they take nearly three times the certified amount. Tacoma has permits to store water behind both Cushman dams but Cushman Reservoir impounds almost twice the licensed amount. FERC's recommended alternative for licensing includes these violations of State law.

Federal Power Act: No provision of the act shall "...alter, amend, repeal, modify, or be in conflict with, the Treaty rights or other rights of any Indian tribe;" Flooding and dewatering of treaty protected fishing, hunting, and gathering sites conflicts. Destroying the salmon, to which the Tribe has a treaty right, conflicts. Illegally taking Reservation land for the project conflicts.

Federal Power Act: No provision of the act shall "...alter or establish the respective rights of...Indian tribes, or any person with respect to any water or water-related rights;" FERC ignores the Tribe's treaty guaranteed rights to water for support of fisheries and purposes of the Skokomish Reservation.

National Historic Preservation Act: Section 106 of NHPA requires FERC to take into account the impact of the Cushman project on tribal cultural resources. Tacoma has not filed the necessary documents and FERC has never required compliance. The Skokomish Tribe's filings on their cultural resources are ignored. Tribal member Celeste Vigil said about the draft EIS: "I see no comments or quotes from people that the Tribe considers experts...talk to the Skokomish people who best know the history of their Tribe."



President Clinton's 1994 Executive Order 12898, "Federal Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations:" The Executive Order states, "...each Federal agency shall make achieving environmental justice part of its mission by identifying and addressing...disproportionately high and adverse...environmental effects of its programs, policies, and activities on minority populations..."

Skokomish Tribal members attest to the disproportionate impact on them. The Cushman project makes reservation land uninhabitable from flooding, it has devastated the fisheries and is destroying the Skokomish watershed upon which Tribal members depend for their livelihood. FERC completely ignores this executive order and their obligations under it in their draft and final EIS and in their recommendation of continued diversion of the North Fork.

U.S. Constitution: The Constitution considers treaties the highest law in the land. The Skokomish Tribe has treaty protected fishing, hunting, and gathering rights. FERC, as an instrument of the federal government, has a trust responsibility to protect these rights. FERC has violated its trust responsibility to the Tribe by allowing the 70 year destruction of Tribal resources. It is compounding this by recommending Tacoma be allowed to continue to destroy the Tribe's resources.

Covelo Indian Community v. FERC: This decision declares that FERC has a "fiduciary" responsibility to tribes "...[and] must always act in the interests of the beneficiaries." FERC has allowed Tacoma's Cushman project to cause great economic harm to the Skokomish Tribe for 70 years, clearly not in the Tribe's best interest, and is recommending the economic damage be allowed to continue.

HOW YOU CAN HELP

Please write to the people listed below, cite FERC Project #460 (send a copy of your letter to the Tribe, address below). Here are some major points:

- 1) Diversion of the North Fork has:
 - devastated Hood Canal salmon runs, once among the richest in the Pacific Northwest;
 - reduced by 40% flow of the mainstem Skokomish, causing it to silt up, increasing flooding;
 - reduced sediment, fresh water, and nutrient inflow to the Skokomish estuary necessary for shellfish and salmon production.
- 2) The federal government should play a major role in restoring the river since it is responsible for allowing Tacoma to operate the environmentally unsound Cushman project for 70 years.
- 3) Tacoma residents currently pay about half the national average and 15% below the rest of the Pacific Northwest for power. According to Tacoma, shutting the project down would cause, at most, a slight rate increase. Tacoma can afford to put the water back into the River.
- 4) FERC is required by law to determine "whether the project will be in the public interest." Instead FERC acts as an advocate for Tacoma's financial interests and ignores the wishes of the public as expressed by all the groups listed on this page who support putting the water back into the North Fork riverbed.
- 5) The Cushman project violates the Skokomish Tribe's treaty rights including their right to the salmon, and to fishing, hunting, gathering and cultural sites. The federal government is suing Tacoma for illegally taking Reservation land.
- 6) The Cushman project currently violates and will continue to violate existing laws unless Tacoma is required by FERC to return substantial flows to the North Fork. FERC, however, proposes to allow Tacoma's illegal diversion of the River to continue. Support the settlement approach (see page 2) developed by the Tribe and others to return the water to the North Fork, resolving Cushman project issues for everyone's benefit with minimum cost to Tacoma and the federal government.

Write the following:

Governor Gary Locke, Legislative Bldg, Olympia WA 98504
 Senator Patty Murray, U.S. Senate, Washington DC 20510
 Hon. Norm Dicks, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington DC 20515
 Tacoma Mayor Brian Ebersole, 747 Market St., Suite 1200, Tacoma WA 98402
 Chair Elizabeth Moler, F.E.R.C., 825 N. Capitol St. NE, Washington DC 20426.



WHO WANTS THE WATER BACK IN THE NORTH FORK RIVER?

Skokomish Indian Tribe, Mason County, Washington Department of Ecology, Washington Department of Fish & Wildlife, National Marine Fisheries Service, U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service, National Park Service, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Mason County Conservation District, Skokomish Watershed Coalition, Puget Sound Gillnetters Association, Westport Charter Boat Association, Pacific Fishery Management Council, American Rivers, Federation of Fly Fishers, Friends of the Earth, Trout Unlimited, The Mountaineers, Olympic Park Associates, Hood Canal Environmental Council, Rivers Council of Washington, Washington Wilderness Coalition, Washington Trout, Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, Sierra Club Cascade Chapter, Sierra Club Tatoosh (Tacoma) Group, Washington Environmental Council, Seattle Audubon, Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, Northwest Student Environmental Action Coalition, National Congress of American Indians, Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians, Snoqualmie Indian Tribe, Support for Native Sovereignty, Washington Association of Churches, Church Council of Greater Seattle, American Friends Service Committee.

For more information contact Victor Martino, Skokomish Tribe Project Manager, 8424 NE Beck Road, Bainbridge Island WA 98110. Phone: (206) 842-5386, fax: (206) 780-5332, email: martino@interserv.com. Visit our web page at: <http://conbio.bio.uci.edu/nae/skokomish.html>.

CREDITS

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 March 1997

Taking a Step Toward Cross Cultural Organizing

BY SHANE JIMERFIELD AND TURTLE

An interesting moment in Earth First! history happened at this year's Activist Conference. The participants made time on the agenda to discuss issues of power dynamics within EF!, in particular, cross cultural organizing. Cross cultural organizing fits into a larger picture of how power dynamics affect Earth First!—along with sexism, male dominance, racism, misogyny, cultural theft and cultural identity. These are societal problems that extend into Earth First! and affect us all.

What is cross cultural organizing?

Cross cultural organizing takes many forms, from supporting to directly organizing within a community culturally different than your own. Tied to the many forms of cross cultural organizing are philosophies of why and how to organize. Many white people are taught, "To organize you need to go into communities of color and get them involved." The premise behind this philosophy or tactic is that people of color are not organized or involved in political issues, which is simply wrong. Many of the most effective environmental and social justice organizers and organizations are comprised of people of color.

Often we hear other organizers talking about getting inner-city youth of color out of the cities and into the woods. The hope is that by doing so these young people will now care about something that they never knew existed. But inner-city youth are not too different than suburban youth when it comes to the source of their apathy. Inner-city youth who are involved in resistance, whether they are African, Asian, Native American, white, etc. are usually involved in the issues that affect them most, regardless of race. Suburban youth who find their way past the TV get involved in a broad range of issues because they don't see the issues that exist within their own communities. They know suburbia is awful but can't identify issues or targets to organize around, so they find their way into the cities and woods. Most EF!ers fit this mold.

Cultural appropriation

White, mainstream America is engaged in a campaign to appropriate and meltdown other cultures. EF!ers are not exempt from this activity. We have heard many times from people of color that it is hard for them to support issues Earth First! works on when many of us show no respect for their traditions and cultural property. It is time for EF!ers to understand the impact our cultural appropriation has on cross cultural organizing. Keep in mind, regardless of what grand rhetoric each of us comes up with for having dreadlocks, burning sage, building sweat lodges, etc. the reality is that many people of color view this activity as cultural appropriation. If Earth First! wants to organize cross culturally, we all need to be honest about these barriers and rid our community of them. It is generally wise to keep our personal "medicines," fetishes, etc. to ourselves and be sensitive of the space we are in when organizing cross culturally.

When talking to people within EF! about cultural appropriation, we often hear, "I have the right to be myself; I won't compromise my identity," etc. The fact is many of us are not "ourselves," our identity is stolen from someone else. We compromise someone else's cultural identity to give some stolen identity to ourselves. In short, any white person who benefits in any way from the war on people of color is also responsible for the oppression of people of color. We all need to end the acceptance of cultural appropriation within EF! and begin to listen and work for the truth. We need to respect, honor and support other cultures.

How class difference fits in

Probably the most pervasive barrier to organizing, even within your own culture, is that of class difference. Many of us within EF! come from different class backgrounds. It is important to understand that class difference is not a choice. The class in which you were raised does not change when you decide that you don't like being rich or poor. Being poor is a life experience; it is how you were raised; it is how people treat you; it is how your school tracked you; it is how you view yourself; it is many things, but it is not a choice. Often, we hear stories from a person who claims to have been homeless, only to find out that they are from a middle or upper-middle class family. And there are those who feel that just because they have given up their parents' handouts they are now poor, which really isn't the case. Our experiences from the past extend into the future.

The issue of class difference is relevant to cross cultural organizing because it's often poor communities that are invaded by liberal whites trying to save the day. People with different class or economic backgrounds approach organizing differently.

A poor or working class person might get a flyer copied by holding a bake sale, whereas a middle or upper-middle class person might charge it. This may not seem a critical point. However, if you look at the options available to the poor person and the extra time it takes just to get copies of a flyer, you might begin to see how the poor person could begin to internalize this as a lack of competence. Soon, they may disappear from organizing. This can be extrapolated across many situations where people with limited economic options encounter those with more options because they have money or other advantages. Think about how this example might apply to race.

Asserting dominance based on economic status is problematic. Some people believe that just because it's "their" money they have more of a say on how it is spent in the movement. This kind of control and power-tripping is not acceptable. It gets complicated when folks are unwilling to confront the culprit because they are afraid the money bags will dry up, and thus the organizing. If a person with money is truly an ally, having a talk about control can be painful, but it won't necessarily result in a burnt bridge.

Barriers and bridges to cross cultural organizing

The greatest appeal we can make to getting people of color and of diversified backgrounds involved with EF! issues is to support their issues. A concern for the woods is not what's missing, rather it's a lack of trust and solidarity. Keep in mind (if you are white) we are from the oppressive race, and it is our responsibility to show support for issues that affect people of color. Make it a point to seek out information on issues important to people of color within your area. Show support for these issues by writing letters to the newspaper and elected officials. Attend rallies and meetings. If you have not been invited, you should ask before going to other groups' meetings or rallies. This shows respect and courtesy.

Finally, white EF!ers should not go into communities of color without being invited. Even if an organizer from the community invites an EF!er, the EF!er shouldn't go into the community and organize a campaign, but should rather be sensitive and supportive to the community's needs. People of color do not need a white person to tell them that they are being oppressed or that they disproportionately bear the burden of environmental degradation. They have known it for over 500 years. Problems in society don't originate within the communities of people of color. The root of the problems that are leading to the destruction of the planet reside in the suburbs and in gated communities filled with scared, rich, white folks. That's where we need to go to get more people involved in radical social politics, as we also work to build coalitions with people of color.

Anti-racism

One of the simplest ways as a white person to support people of color is to be actively anti-racist. When you make a racist comment, apologize. When you hear a racist comment, acknowledge it and disagree with it openly. Make a practice of learning about things that don't seem to have direct impacts in your daily life. It goes much further than this, but this is a beginning—take the step.

If Earth First! wants to present itself in a way that will allow other people to feel comfortable coming into our movement, and if we want to be diverse, we have to deal with these issues and be honest about who we are. If not, we need to say this upfront. It is not unnatural to go through these problems, yet it is unhealthy not to deal with them.

PRINCIPLES OF ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

1) Environmental justice affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity, the interdependence of all species and the right to be free from ecological destruction.

2) Environmental justice demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination or bias.

3) Environmental justice mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things.

4) Environmental justice calls for universal protection from nuclear testing and the extraction, production and disposal of toxic/hazardous wastes and poisons that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water and food.

5) Environmental justice affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples.

6) Environmental justice demands the cessation of the production of all toxins, hazardous wastes and radioactive materials, and that all past and current producers be held strictly accountable to the people for detoxification and the containment at the point of production.

7) Environmental justice demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making, including needs-assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation.

8) Environmental justice affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment, without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right of those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.

9) Environmental justice protects the rights of victims of environmental injustice to receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality health care.

10) Environmental justice considers governmental acts of environmental injustice a violation of international law, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Convention on Genocide.

11) Environmental justice must recognize a special and natural relationship of Native Peoples to the US government through treaties, agreements, compacts and covenants affirming sovereignty and self-determination.

12) Environmental justice affirms the need for urban and rural ecological policies to cleanup and rebuild our cities and rural areas in balance with nature, honoring the cultural integrity of all our communities and providing fair access for all to the full range of resources.

13) Environmental justice calls for the strict enforcement of principles of informed consent and a halt to the testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures and vaccinations on people of color.

14) Environmental justice opposes the destructive operations of multinational corporations.

15) Environmental justice opposes military occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, peoples and cultures, and other life forms.

16) Environmental justice calls for the education of present and future generations which emphasizes social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of our diverse cultural perspectives.

17) Environmental justice requires that we, as individuals, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources, to produce as little waste as possible and make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles to insure the health of the natural world for present and future generations.

Adopted at the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit Washington, DC, 1991.

POLITICAL POSTURING AND ENDANGERED SPECIES

BY BRIAN VINCENT

In little more than 200 years, this country has lost to extinction nearly 500 species of plants and animals. Gone forever are the California grizzly bear, great auk, silver trout and Eastern elk. Today, species continue to disappear at rates far exceeding natural levels. Harvard biologist E.O. Wilson estimates the rate of global extinction at 50 to 100 species per day, compared to a historic rate of five to ten a year.

To rescue species from the brink of extinction, Congress passed the Endangered Species Act (ESA) in 1973. Since then, the ESA has helped save a host of species at risk. Without the ESA's emergency aid, species such as the California condor, black-footed ferret, grizzly bear and whooping crane would surely have vanished. Today, the Northwest boasts a recovering bald eagle population, and imperiled species like the Columbian white-tailed deer, Bradshaw's lomatium, marbled murrelet and northern spotted owl have been given a fighting chance, in part because of the Act's safeguards.

But, over the last two years, lawmakers have put the ESA at the top of their hit list. The 104th Congress vowed to gut the ESA, log the last remaining ancient forests, insulate grazing from environmental laws and open up wild places like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to development. While many of those attacks were defeated, there were some tragic losses for endangered species, most notably the one-year moratorium of the listing of species and the passage of the Salvage Rider.

The debate over species protection is already intensifying this year. In February, Republican Senators Dirk Kempthorne (ID) and John Chafee (RI) circulated a discussion draft of their proposed ESA reauthorization bill to key Congressional staff, a bill that could set the stage for Senate negotiations. If enacted, the Kempthorne-Chafee proposal would gut the ESA. It is unclear why Senator Chafee, chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee and longtime champion of environmental protection, has given his support to the draft, although sources on Capitol Hill believe the moderate Republican is feeling the heat of more conservative committee members. In addition, a key Democrat on the committee, Senator Max Baucus (MT), is said to be "leaning" in favor of the proposal. Should Senator Baucus endorse the plan, other Democrats and perhaps the Clinton administration may follow.

In the House of Representatives, Rep. Jim Saxton (R-NJ) and Wayne Gilchrest (R-MD) are expected to fine tune a bill they wrote last year. Concerned about tensions among Republicans and wounded by allegations of ethics violations, House Speaker Newt Gingrich may wait for the Senate to tackle more contentious issues first. While it is uncertain when decision makers will take up ESA reauthorization, it is clear that Congressional leaders and President Clinton are looking to further rollback the landmark statute to accommodate development interests.

Clinton rewards landowners for sacrificing species

The Clinton administration has been busy seeking its own political solution to the ESA. Hoping to avoid clashes between conservation efforts and economic growth, President Clinton has been promoting Habitat Conservation Plans (HCPs), highly questionable

agreements developed ostensibly to conserve species on non-federal lands. As a result, the number of HCPs and other agreements has increased tenfold over the last two years. Over 300 HCPs have been completed or are being developed, the majority of which are planned for Washington, Oregon and California.

In 1982, Congress amended the ESA to make the law more amenable to developers. Section 10(a) of the ESA allows landowners to conduct activities resulting in the incidental "take" of some individuals of a protected species, provided that the landowner develops an HCP. In 1994, without public notice or comment, the administration adopted its "No Surprises" policy which reversed the US Fish and Wildlife Service's (FWS) regulations requiring HCPs to be altered if they jeopardize the survival and recovery of endangered species. Under the No Surprises policy, an HCP cannot be altered to increase protection for declining populations of species or newly listed species except under "extraordinary circumstances" and only with the voluntary approval of the private landowner when the changes require additional payments or development limitations. No Surprises essentially locks in management plans, even if they are found to endanger target species or fail to protect newly listed species.

While HCPs may sound like a win-win solution to the politicians, the devil's in the details. Current HCPs are, in reality, development schemes that give timber companies, real estate barons, ranchers, oil corporations and other industry interests a license to kill. For example, some "conservation" strategies now being employed by natural resource agencies to "protect" species (like the Coachella Valley fringe-toed lizard and Pacific pocket mouse in California, northern spotted owl in Washington, Oregon and California, and the grizzly bear in the Northern Continental Divide ecosystem) would permit degradation of habitat or relocation of an already stressed population of a species. But such policies ignore good science. The conservation and scientific communities have sharply criticized the No Surprises policy as it provides landowners with 100 percent certainty while refusing to recognize that ecological systems are unpredictable, dynamic and complex. In July, nearly 170 scientists signed a letter to President Clinton expressing their concern about the policy, "Because we will always be surprised by ecological systems, the proposed No Surprises amendment flies in the face of scientifically based ecological knowledge."

In addition to HCPs, President Clinton has sought other opportunities to make the ESA more "flexible" for developers. The administration has adopted policies that severely weaken the federal government's affirmative duty under the ESA to aid in the recovery of listed species. Many of those policies preclude future recovery opportunities for thousands of species and even doom them to extinction. For example, the administration has proposed two "special rules" under Section 4(d) of the ESA. Section 4(d) gives the FWS broad authority to issue regulations that relieve or reduce prohibitions against incidental take of a threatened species. The new rules, which would exempt small landowners from protecting threatened species and reduce restrictions on developing lands important to the northern spotted owl, will unravel protection and recovery efforts, pushing species further toward extinction. Last year, the FWS announced, without any public input, that it would no longer consider thousands of species as "candidates" for listing, a designation which affords imperiled species some safeguards.

Under this administration, the FWS and National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) have refused to designate critical habitat for listed species or to list species, unless under court order. In its FY98 budget, the Clinton administration requested \$6 million for the ESA's listing program, \$1.483 million less than requested in FY97 and \$4.175 million less than the Bush administration's FY92 request.

Kempthorne-Chafee: a recipe for extinction

Legislative action on the ESA is likely to move quickly. Congressional aides indicate Senators Kempthorne and Chafee intend to finalize language and introduce their bill as early as March. More aptly called the "Species Extinction" bill, the Kempthorne-Chafee draft would weaken some of the ESA's most protective mechanisms. Specifically, the proposal would:

- Prevent the recovery of threatened and endangered species by requiring FWS and NMFS to undertake unwarranted and speculative cost assessments when developing recovery plans. Such a requirement would further delay development of recovery plans for listed species and divert money and personnel away from the job of protecting listed species. The bill also raises potential "takings" implications by requiring an evaluation of the effects on "the use and value of property as a result of the implementation of the recovery plan."

- Undermine the ability of the federal government to protect listed species of fish. The proposed bill could potentially prevent the implementation of measures to conserve listed species of fish, including salmon, where such measures restrict the ability of states "to regulate the appropriation, use, control or distribution of water."

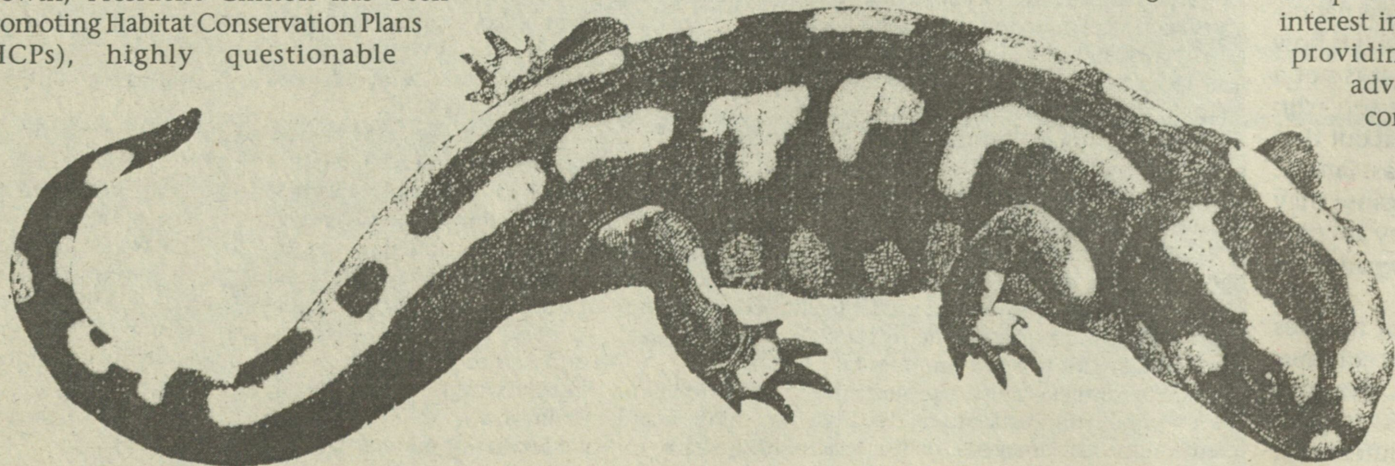
- Waive the requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) with regard to HCPs. NEPA compliance would be waived for the development and approval of "low effect conservation plans," and in certain situations, other conservation plans that are not "low effect" (i.e. HCPs). The requirements imposed by NEPA currently provide citizens with the only real opportunity to comment during the HCP development and approval process. Broadly waiving these procedures would further restrict opportunities for citizen involvement in the development of HCPs.

- Codify in statute the Clinton administration's No Surprises policy.

- Allow federal actions that harm listed species to proceed without adequate review. The ESA currently requires federal agencies to consult with the FWS to ensure that their activities do not jeopardize listed species. The "consultation" provision of the ESA was cited by the National Academy of Sciences as one of its most important and effective provisions. Yet, the Kempthorne-Chafee bill would significantly weaken the consultation process. It provides for a self-consultation process, allowing federal agencies such as the Forest Service, Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Land Management to decide for themselves whether a particular action is or "is not likely to adversely affect an endangered species or a threatened species or critical habitat." If the agency determines the action "is not likely to adversely affect...", then there is no requirement to consult with the FWS. Kempthorne-Chafee also expressly provides a "seat at the consultation table" for timber companies, developers and others with an economic interest in the outcome of a consultation, without providing a similar opportunity for wildlife advocates. And it completely waives the consultation requirement for certain activities.

This year, endangered species will literally be fighting for their lives. Their last hope is the ESA, the lifeline for species in trouble. Attempts by Congress and the President to weaken the Act are like pulling the plug on a patient in critical condition.

Brian Vincent is the Conservation Director for the Northwest Ecosystem Alliance in Bellingham, Washington.



HIGHLY CONTROVERSIAL POLITICS

HCPs WREAKING HAVOC ON PRIVATE LANDS

BY ALLISON ROLFE

The MSCP (Multiple Species Conservation Program) is an HCP (Habitat Conservation Plan) meant to implement the ESA (Endangered Species Act) for the protection of habitats such as CSS (Coastal Sage Scrub), a process that has evolved in response to a whole lot of BS (politics). Confused? It's a common state of being, and quite possibly the intended response, for activists embarking on the habitat conservation planning process.

HCP-type planning is upon us at full speed. It's tough enough just to comprehend the basic implications. Suddenly, in more and more regions throughout the country, we are being forced to understand and critique this approach to land-use regulation (or deregulation). Across the country HCPs are being initiated, adopted and implemented without careful consideration of the implications. And like in a train wreck, with no time to think, we are being hit with interim and cumulative losses we have not even begun to assess.

The concept is this: plan "proactively" for habitats, as opposed to individual species and thereby avoid future ESA listings of species dependent upon those habitats. The first part of the premise is valid: there is nothing wrong with long-term, comprehensive planning. In fact, it is a fundamental planning principle that wise, long-term planning should be proactive in its conservation of open space by designating future configurations for land-use now. Proactive, comprehensive planning requires foresight and vision. It identifies the desired shape the landscape should take over time and implements short-term projects in compliance with this future concept.

Add the political context. Future focus should be incorporated into all land-use decision-making processes, but when it becomes tied to an assurance of no future listings (the second part of the HCP premise), a clear picture begins to emerge of the true political motivation. Expediency, without concern for even the immediate future, is the name of the game. Developers want permits, assurances and profits. Politicians want immediate gratification, campaign contributions and guaranteed reelection.

In San Diego, the Southwest Center for Biological Diversity has been chronicling the ways in which the political context has shaped the outcome of the HCP process. With more threatened and endangered species than any other region in North America, along with some of the most aggressive developers and dismal planning, San Diego has been identified as a model for the nation. Like HCPs elsewhere, San Diego's regional model, known as the MSCP, has two primary directives. One goal is to protect intact habitats as a proactive means of preventing the isolation, decline and eventual extinction of plant and animal species, and the other is to expedite permit approval for development projects. In theory, the program should be able to achieve both goals by protecting habitats which sustain sensitive species. This would avoid the listing of declining species and thereby pre-

clude the "tedious" regulations required by the ESA.

Philosophically there are many controversies that arise from the HCP debate. Some common questions include: why draw lines around what will essentially be an urban preserve area, rather than around development to limit growth; can we manage and plan a preserve with the limited amount of research behind HCP planning; is this better than the status quo and should we be settling for merely, "the best we can get." Practically, however, the questions that must be answered relate to the political context, to disparities of power and the effect these issues have on the MSCP outcome.

Several major problems arise in the HCP process from the fact that some stakeholders have more leverage than others. The major flaws include inequitable distribution of burden for assembling the preserve, improper use of HCP-type planning and unwieldy complexity. The problem can be summarized this way: special interests seeking short-term gain have been successful in situating the regional HCP process as the only tool for land-use and conservation planning, shifting the burden away from developers to the public and doing it at such a tremendous pace that it has been virtually impossible to assess the implications.

First, decision-makers are operating under the apparent assumption that HCPs are the only mechanism we need to conserve species and associated biological resources. This assumption is false. HCP preserves were never meant to address all of the land-use and species issues in a given region. The HCP process was meant to be a new tool to promote habitat protection and economic growth by precluding the need to list some species, but it was never intended to be the only tool. The MSCP program should supplement and improve on conventional administration of existing laws and local land-use regulations; it cannot be substituted for them.

Some species need the "critical care" afforded by the ESA, and it is far too late to attempt to address their needs through proactive planning. There is a common misperception by the public, encouraged by decision-makers and moneyed interests, that the ESA is too restrictive and therefore unnecessary. Seen as a more flexible and fair approach, HCP planning has been embraced as an alternative. The measures provided in HCP plans presume that HCPs are an adequate substitution for traditional ESA "safety net"-type management conditions. The ESA was designed, however, to mandate action instead of merely recommending guidelines. This aspect of the ESA is an inherent design characteristic, indicative of a law intended as a last effort at prevent-



ing species' decline and extinction when the discretion of decision-makers could not be relied upon to favor the long-term benefits of habitat conservation.

A second major problem also arises from widespread misperceptions. The MSCP, as an example, is marketed as a nature preserve, an amenity and public benefit. It is commonly assumed that developers participate mostly out of kindness and concern. It is rarely revealed that the actual intent of a region-wide HCP is to streamline environmental regulations and transfer control from the federal government to local jurisdictions. Existing regulations are, in fact, more restrictive than the HCP.

Under current conditions, developers are required to mitigate impacts to environmentally sensitive land under various state and federal laws. This mitigation is designed to compensate for significant impacts that cannot be avoided. An HCP preserve can be thought of as a mitigation bank for future impacts. In theory, it should cost taxpayers close to nothing because the burden for building the preserve lies with the developers who want permits and must therefore mitigate their impacts. This is not the case however; it's expected that the MSCP will cost taxpayers millions.

Finally, HCPs are confusing and taking over the country at an alarming rate. It may (or may not) sound like an irrational conspiracy theory to suggest they are intentionally indecipherable and unassessable. Some claim that this is a ground-breaking (no pun intended) paradigm shift sweeping the nation, but how can it be a paradigm shift when the political context remains the same?

It's questionable, at best, whether a concept that has been so corrupted by the political context should serve as a national model. The evolution of HCPs in some regions, given some contexts, may be more successful than in others, but it is difficult not to be alarmed when a growth-driven region such as San Diego is chosen as a model. Regardless of regional implications, HCPs are shaping-up to have a tremendous national impact as a model for revising the ESA. This country should acknowledge the need for new tools for planning and remember the intent of the ESA. We need both. Amidst the confusion, one thing is certain: if HCP policies are codified and substituted for original ESA language, we can expect an increase in the decline and extinction of species.

BARE BONES

Dismantle the dams

Removing four dams on the lower Snake River may be the only cost-effective way to prevent Idaho salmon from becoming extinct, according to a report commissioned by the Army Corps of Engineers. The report says eliminating the dams built and operated by the Corps would cost electric users, shippers and taxpayers \$153 million more annually. However, that cost could drop to \$75 million if federal officials decide immediately to take out the dams. The savings would come in money already budgeted for salmon-related improvements to the dams. Though not the cheapest option, dam removal would provide the largest increase in estimated salmon survival. The Army Corps report concluded that, "Only dam removal will provide sufficient benefits to have any chance for reversing the decline." This is the second report that suggests dam removal may be necessary to save Idaho's salmon and steelhead.

Bull trout listing

In a huge victory for bull trout, a judge has ordered the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) to reconsider their 1994 decision precluding bull trout from listing under the Endangered Species Act. In a tersely worded opinion, the judge found that the FWS was "arbitrary and capricious" in its decision that bull trout were "warranted but precluded" from listing.

The FWS relied heavily on future actions of federal agencies, such as the Forest Service's INFISH and PACFISH forest plan amendments, and various other state programs to protect the fish. These actions have not protected bull trout and, in the case of state plans, have not materialized or resulted in any on-the-ground protective measures. "Several aspects of the record make FWS's reliance on these factors, without further explanation, so questionable and internally inconsistent as to render that reliance arbitrary and capricious," wrote Judge Jones.

Dispute arises over FBI wiretap plan

An old quarrel about the FBI's plan to modernize its system for eavesdropping on telephone conversations has flared anew. Even telephone companies and industry associations are arguing that the new system will be far more intrusive and expensive than first thought. They say it would give law enforcement officials sweeping new power to monitor tens of thousands of conversations and data transmissions simultaneously in a metropolitan area. For example, the FBI's plan would enable the law enforcement authorities in Los Angeles County to expand their surveillance capabilities a hundredfold beyond their current capacity of 1,360 simultaneous wiretaps.

The Digital Telephony Act of 1994 set the mandate for new tapping procedures, and the FBI has since been trying to work out the details. "One of the problems with this is the FBI hasn't committed themselves on paper," said James Dempsey, staff counsel for the Center for Democracy and Technology, a Washington-based public interest organization. "Until the FBI unambiguously states on the record what it intends, the statute has not been complied with."

continued on page 26

BARE BONES

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The Cellular Telephone Industry Association calculated that the bureau's historical data shows that the highest number of simultaneous cellular phone taps ever conducted in the nation by local, state and federal law enforcement agencies was 6,070. But the FBI is now proposing that the cellular industry give law enforcement agencies the ability to monitor 103,190 calls simultaneously nationwide. "This is kind of scary," said Tom Wheeler, president of the Cellular Telephone Industry Association. "What does the FBI know about our future that we don't?" More importantly, what does the FBI know about us that we don't?

Pygmy owl gets partial protection

The US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) listed the 11-inch long cactus ferruginous pygmy owl as endangered in February. The 19 known remaining pygmy owls in Arizona all live near housing developments planned for prime real estate land. For this reason officials are not expected to designate "critical habitat" for the owl, even though in 1994 FWS found that 290 miles of river habitat is needed to prevent the bird's extinction. If even one bird were lost to development it could be the failure of the species.

The Southwest Center for Biological Diversity has been trying to get the owl listed since May 1992. It took four lawsuits to get FWS to list the owl.

Twin Creeks Mine OKed by BLM

With the approval of the Twin Creeks Mine near Winnemucca, Nevada, the BLM has permitted cumulative groundwater deficits in the Humboldt River basin to exceed 50 percent of the water stored in the top 100 feet of the basin. The mine, owned by the Santa Fe Pacific Gold Corporation, will create the largest human-made lake in Nevada, north of Lake Mead. Combined surface and subsurface flow at Winnemucca is about 160,000 acre-feet/year. It would require more than 25 years for all of this flow to make up the water deficit from the mine.

Water quality in the Twin Creeks Mine may also be among the worst in Nevada. Getchell Mine, about four miles from Twin Creeks, filled with water beginning in the late 1960s. Although it has been drained, and mining recommenced, water quality measurements show sulfate and total dissolved solids (salt) to be seven to ten times greater than predicted. Yet, the BLM ignored the Getchell data in its analysis of the Twin Creek Mine, claiming there were too many differences between the pits. They chose to use completely unverified computer models to predict water quality and they have required no bonding to mitigate problems if something goes wrong.

Groundwater pumping is allowed under the guise that it is temporary. It is ironic that in areas where it would be impossible to obtain long-term water rights to irrigate a few acres, it is possible to get permits to remove as much as half of the recharge for 20 years.

To express your opinion about this mine contact Ron Wenker, District Manager, BLM, 5100 E. Winnemucca Blvd., Winnemucca, NV 89445 or Santa Fe Pacific Gold, Twin Creeks Mine, POB 69, Golconda, NV 89414.

The Spotted Owl is Going to Die

BY LACEY PHILLABAUM

Home for the holidays, I tried doggedly to let go of my puritanical eco-righteousness. As much as I rage against it, my family is upper-middle class, white and typical. When Peter Jennings looks into the camera every night, he's talking to people like my mom. Just as I have trained myself to resent the life-style of my childhood, I have almost rejected the landscape of its setting. I feel sad that the ponderosa pines, wheat fields and open skies of my childhood don't move me like the ancient forests of the Western Cascades.

Maybe it's because the owl was my first encounter with wildlife, real forest critters and not the deer or coyote grazing my father's fields in the distance. Maybe the uproar over the owl in the '80s trained me to think I might never see one. Maybe Lou Gold ingrained the notion of indicator species so deeply in my head that a distant hoot arouses instantly every way in which I love an ancient forest. Maybe it's just the inherent magic and summoning power of the owl. There is something special about the northern spotted owl to me, probably to many. I don't mean the Northern Spotted Owl, of course. Not the NSO of infamy. I mean that shy bird, with the four note hoot which quickens my heart. That chivalrous male bird and his reclusive soul mate. The one with eyes which speak emotion and thought. That bird which has evolved within the ancient forest, is ultimately adapted to fly through the multistory canopy and to nest in the snag.

This movement can only be stronger when we learn to accommodate the emotions that all of us feel as activists, the fear of law enforcement that is the fear of any animal chased through a forest by a predator. But how to accommodate the overwhelming grief. No sincere person amongst us can deny that it is heart-wrenching to see a giant forced to its knees, and that the woe exponentially worsens when a whole watershed is leveled. How to grapple, then, with the almost inconceivable sum of destruction wreaked upon the forest everyday. And how to say good-bye to a species.

It's the dirtiest secret of Option 9. We don't talk about it and neither do they. The spotted owl is going to die.

It's not a fate sealed in stone, of course. It is sealed in the Manifest Destiny mindset of our culture. For the owl's sake, I wish the challenge were only stone.

The fight will continue. The Biodiversity Legal Foundation is preparing to sue the government for failing to recover the northern spotted owl. Their challenge is based on the fact that the Salvage Rider severely undercut Option 9's protections for owls, and those protections will continue to be made irrelevant by Habitat Conservation Plans (HCPs). In Washington alone, the incidental take of 355 owl pairs has already been authorized, 200 pairs through HCPs and 155 by the Department of Natural Resources on state land. There are 762 known activity centers (for pairs and singles) in the state at present. In all of the ways in which "Habitat Conservation Plan" is a misnomer, the word "conservation" is most strikingly euphemistic in the owl's case. All HCPs are "front-loaded," allowing habitat to be cut now in exchange for regrowth later. But the owl is almost certainly not going to survive until later.

If there is any hope for the owl, a cumulative impacts analysis, evaluating the status of the owl on federal, state and private land is needed. At present, each entity works independently, allowing individual, incidental takes which are cumulatively, unmistakably pushing the owl towards extinction.

On the ground, the northern spotted owl is giving way to the eastern barred owl, a bird very similar to the spotted owl except that it adapts more readily to trashed habitats.

It doesn't need pristine, ancient forests to survive.

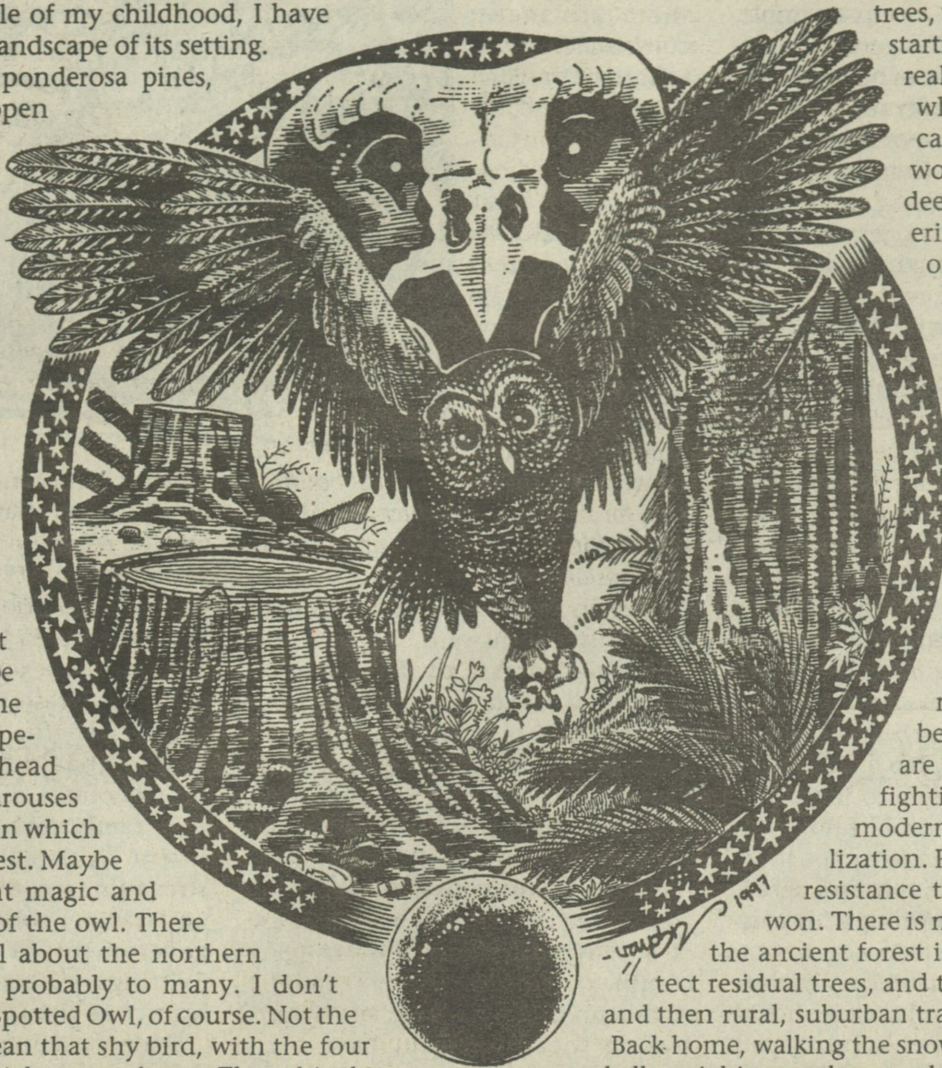
Was the spotted owl just a strategy for the ancient forest protection movement? How could such a sacred bird be a strategy, and if it isn't, how can we let it slip away in silence? How do we say good-bye, mourn a species? A moment of silence? A day of outrage? Maybe a walk in the forest as the pink and orange light of

the sunset falls through the trees, when the cold is just starting to nip. Will there really be a moonlit night when the mysterious call of the spotted owl won't float from the deepest part of the towering giants? If the loss of the grizzly is the loss of our wild nature, and the waning of the wolf the severing of our nomad, predatory way, what can it mean when the owl is gone?

If there is a time, a signal, that our modern movement has failed, isn't this it? It could not, of course, have been otherwise, for we are a handful of people fighting the thrust of the modern juggernaut of civilization. Failure is a given and resistance the only prize to be won. There is no finish line. When the ancient forest is gone, we will protect residual trees, and then second growth and then rural, suburban tracts.

Back home, walking the snowy roads, my Christmas belly weighing me down and my mind heavy with these thoughts, I unconsciously chime the notes of the owl's cry in response to a half-heard wish of a hoot. I always love snow, and there is after all, a certain magic silence about, even in this degraded landscape. A heavy rush of wind behind my head breaks my reverie. My heart is in my throat when I see the huge bird which has grazed me. Awakened by my longing hoot, it inspects me from a telephone pole. It is as unaccustomed to my attention as I am to his presence in this place. He looks like a fat cat perched on the pole, bigger than any owl I've ever seen. Not a spotted owl of course, the predator, plebeian great horned owl.

What a blessing to be visited by this scavenger refuge as I mourn the loss of my totem animal, the spotted owl. The weight of my grief at the owl's passing is too much to bear. The great horned's visit, I can only think, is a promise, a pact between us of sorts. He is teaching me to stow away his symbolism in my heart, so that one day he will provoke me to defend these rolling hills and limitless skies, as I now defend the forest. It is a promise I will keep.



ADC Scum Drop Dead

A state-owned aircraft, used to shoot coyotes as part of Utah's Animal Damage Control (ADC) program, crashed in Millard County, Utah.

Witnesses reported the Piper Super Cub was flying low when it suddenly came straight down at a 90-degree angle. The impact killed an employee with the federal ADC and a contract sharpshooter working for the Utah's ADC.

Authorities have no idea what caused the crash. There were no distress calls before the plane went down. The weather was clear and the winds were calm. The plane's engine recently had been replaced with a new one, and the pilot had 550 hours flying time with the ADC.

The two men were engaged in the state's controversial predator-control program that kills coyotes, foxes, bears and cougars. More than \$1 million in taxes and fees is spent each year to kill thousands of coyotes. Predator-hunting planes usually contain a pilot and a shooter who sits in the back seat of the plane and fires a 12-gauge shotgun from the window.

Cattle and sheep ranchers and turkey farmers pay a minimal fee for predator control, which is matched by federal funds. Eleven western states participate in the ADC program. The predator controllers use traps and aerial hunting.

CITY HOLIDAY

BY TIM HAUGEN

An amusing and meritorious idea for disrupting business as usual has filtered to me from some mischief makers in Carbondale, Illinois. Try this out at your local Temple of Mass Consumption.

This idea requires that you somehow contrive to obtain a copy of your city's letterhead along with the signature of the mayor or city manager. Use these tools to declare a city holiday and post these notices everywhere, especially on the front doors of businesses.

For example, you could do something like the following:
To the Citizens of Entropy:

As Administrator of the City Council, it is my pleasure to make this special announcement to the public. We're sure all workers and students will appreciate the implementation of a new city ordinance declaring Wednesdays a day off from work and school. We feel the people of Carbondale would have a chance to be better citizens if there was a designated holiday in the middle of the week. Studies by psychiatrists and soci-

ologists indicate that the effects of preparing for and complying with a five (or more) day workweek are harmful to our mental and physical well-being. In fact, studies indicate that most popular forms of leisure contribute to the ill health of our citizens as well. As a remedy, we encourage you to engage in activities outside the confines of business transactions or the passive consumption of entertainment. If this comes to include the convivial sharing of essential skills (e.g., gardening), the Council looks forward to cutting down the rest of the workweek accordingly as it becomes superfluous.

Surveys show that playful and unusual activities are more enjoyable, and better for society as a whole, than well-planned and administered culture. We look forward to seeing how this new ordinance changes our hard-working citizens and encourages a more beautiful city. We also strongly suggest that citizens begin to think for themselves and act accordingly to realize their boldest desires despite years of repression and boredom.

Together, we can make every day a holiday!

—BJOR A. CRAT, CITY MANAGER



For more information concerning this ordinance contact: Pee R. Flack, Community Relations Officer, City Hall, 666 Economic Growth Ave., Entropy, IL 2L84U; 987-6543.

According to Harvard economist Juliet Schor in her book *The Overworked American*, the average American workweek has steadily increased over the last 15 years, along with mandatory overtime and the declining power of labor unions. Furthermore, she cites studies which indicate that corporate executives

plan more of the same for workers in the future. To quote one Fortune 500 CEO, "I cannot imagine a shorter workweek. I can imagine a longer one, both in school and at work, if America is to be competitive in the first half of the next century."

In an age when corporate CEOs view workers as mere pawns without lives of their own, in a multinational competition, the declaration of a city holiday can remind people there are more rewarding ways of meeting basic needs than a life of wage slavery.

THE ECOLOGICAL COSTS OF FUR FARMING

BY JP GOODWIN

The fur industry may refer to itself as "eco-friendly" in deceptive advertising campaigns, but this greenwashing is a deceitful attempt to justify what is not only a cruel trade but an ecologically destructive one as well. Fur farms cause extensive water, air and soil pollution, while fur coats are processed with caustic chemicals. Trapping not only disrupts the balance of nature, but can lead to the spread of wildlife diseases.

The largest mink producing state in the US is Wisconsin, and some farms there keep up to 75,000 animals. The Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources has had to urge the fur industry to find new ways of dealing with the wastewater from tons of fur farm excrement each year. When excrement is allowed to pile up underneath cages it leaches into the soil and eventually contaminates the groundwater. Runoff carries the pollution into nearby streams where the high level of nitrates contained in it causes algal growth. The overgrowth of algae depletes the oxygen in the water, totally disrupting the natural ecology of the local drainages. One fur industry

group, Fur Commission USA, requested that local governments in the Great Lakes region maintain lower water-quality standards so that fur farms wouldn't be identified as major sources of pollution.

Extensive water and air pollution problems as a result of fur farming have also been created in Finland, the world's largest fox breeding country. The total ammonia emissions from Finnish farms is 1,500 tons per year. These emissions can lead to respiratory problems for mammals who live in the area. In the town of Kaustinen, the intake of groundwater had to be halted and the direction of the river current changed because waste dumped by fur farms contaminated the water supply.

A further ecologically devastating impact of fur farms is the introduction of non-native animals into foreign habitats. Last year, a fur-farming disaster led to the release of nutria into the Willamette Valley in Oregon. The nutria devoured crops, causing untold amounts of damage. Other examples include raccoons in Germany, opossum in New Zealand, mink in Iceland and nutria in other areas of North America. The fur industry continues to experiment with different fur animals and the same problems continue to arise as animals escape and reproduce in large numbers.

Trapping disrupts the predator/prey relationship as well by removing large numbers of predators during the winter months. This can lead to an overabundance of prey. In New Mexico, approximately 50 people died after an outbreak of the Hanta virus which was related to an overpopulation of deer mice. Deer mice are normally preyed upon by coyotes, but cattle ranchers trap and shoot the coyotes for their fur. The Hanta disaster may have occurred because the trappers and cattle ranchers disrupted the ecological balance by killing off all the coyotes.

Much of the public opposes killing animals for their fur, but some of the environmental movement does not. Incredibly, the National Wildlife Federation (NWF) not only supports trapping, but produces pro-trapping literature distributed by the maker of Victor leg-hold traps. The fact that trapping decimates populations of predators and numerous threatened and endangered species through the use of nonselective traps evidently means nothing to NWF. Their literature states that trapping controls outbreaks of disease. However, diseased animals are not the only animals attracted to the urine-based sex lures used by trappers. Nonselective trapping leads to a reduction of the genetic strength of the targeted species—making them more susceptible to disease.

The lynx, bobcat and otter are listed under Appen-

dix II of the Convention in Trade of Endangered Species. This stipulates that such animals can be trapped and killed in the wild, but they must be tagged in order to maintain some sort of body count. While claiming to care about endangered species, the fur trade is lobbying to have these valuable animals downgraded because, as the National Trappers Association recently complained, the tagging process is "tedious." Though lynx populations are at precariously low levels, trappers continue to kill them in large numbers in many areas.

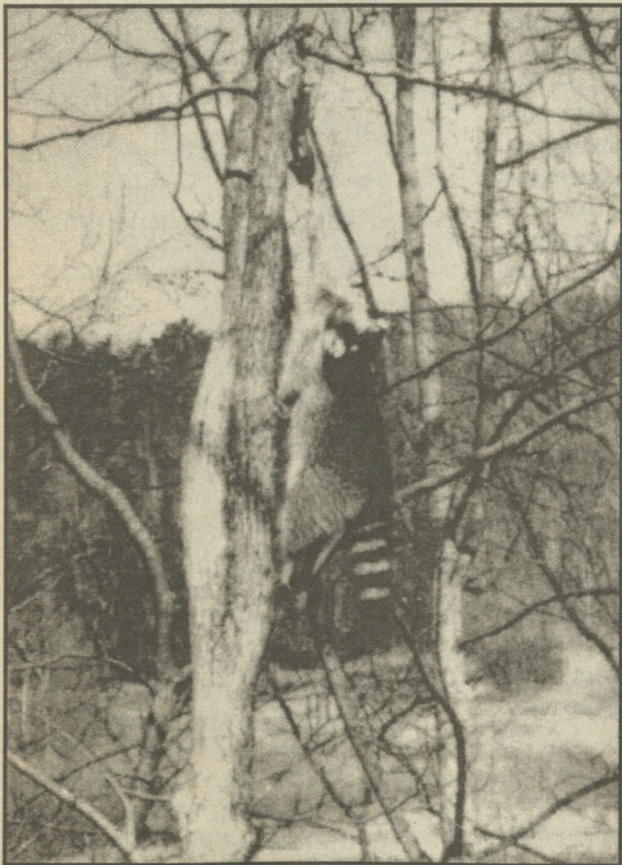
As few as 150 may still exist in Montana, but the trapping continues. Lynx are even being taken out of the wild to stock new lynx farms. Saskatchewan, Canada legalized lynx farming in 1996 and most states and provinces already allow the keeping of wild cats in fur farms.

The fur industry claims that a real fur is much safer (and environmentally friendly) than a synthetic coat. This too has proven to be a false claim. If you add up the ecological costs associated with the manufacture of cages and feed, gas for drive feeder machines, transportation of the pelt to the auction house, the dresser, the manufacture and the retail outlet and the processing of the skins, a ranch-raised fur will have used 20 times as much energy as the production of a synthetic jacket.

The fur trade believes it can deflect criticism by claiming that the entire animal is used and that the carcass is used for animal feed, but this is not always true. For example, furriers claim that fox and some mink are killed by lethal injection. This practice makes the carcass unusable as animal feed. As there is no economic benefit in giving animal carcasses to rendering companies, the carcasses are generally disposed of in landfills.

Toxic chemicals used in fur processing, including formaldehyde and chromium, cause extensive environmental damage, and fur processing plants have been fined by the Environmental Protection Agency in the US. The fur industry claims to be environmentally responsible, yet advertising authorities in England, Denmark, Finland, Holland and Italy have stopped the industry from making these claims. We must also stop it in North America.

The Dallas-based Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade has researched, written and produced a new report entitled *The Fur Industry: An Environmental Nightmare*. The fur trade as a whole needs to be targeted by environmental activists. Department stores are the main target for protests around the country. Raiding fur farms is a favorite among direct action groups. Anyone who would like help organizing against the fur trade can contact the Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade at POB 822411, Dallas, TX 75382; (214) 503-1419.



Raccoon caught in an aboreal leg-hold trap

Photo courtesy of the Coalition to Abolish the Fur Trade

A MODEST PROPOSAL FOR THE ACTIVIST CONFERENCE

This proposal comes from a meeting, at the end of the 1997 EF! Activist Conference at Arrowbear, to make some proposals for future conferences. This is intended to be a *proposal only* and everything below was not fully consensed upon.

Goal of conference

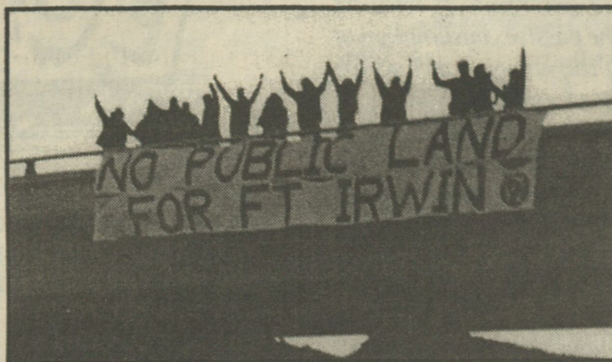
To have productive meetings about EF! movement business.

Critiques

To give you a feel of the basis for our discussion, here are critiques of the Arrowbear and previous conferences:

- Provide adequate map and directions to the site.
- A check-in/registration area is essential. Post a map of the facilities and "camp rules."
- Morning circles and orientation are essential.
- Agenda was too fixed. No preset agendas. (The opposite was also suggested.)
- Post the agenda in an obvious place.
- Actions shouldn't be scheduled during prime meeting time.
- Pack it in and pack it out.
- Inadequate bath and sleeping facilities.
- Firewood should be provided not scavenged from the grounds.
- Provide an obvious recycling center. Kegs instead of bottles for the rally.
- Need a menu. Food was good but inflexible. Provide emergency food plans.
- Ensure an organized, reliable kitchen crew. Supply the kitchen adequately (more salt and spices).
- Attendees should help with dishes/kitchen.
- Facilitation was better in 1997 than in 1996.
- Conference Committee should ensure trained facilitators are in attendance.
- Communications with *EF! Journal* need to be better

- and information should be double-checked.
- Less internal business/more project-oriented meetings. (The opposite was also suggested.)
- Meetings (and conference itself) started too late.
- Rally/performance night needs to be organized and respected.
- More money for travel reimbursement.
- Not enough urban issues.



1997 Conference action—protecting the Mojave

Structure of the conference

We recognize the desire for a large winter rendezvous/gathering, and we feel there is a conflict between the need for a smaller EF! organizers' meeting (two to four reps from each region or group) and a larger rendezvous-type atmosphere that the tribe seems to desire more than once a year. So, we thought it would be helpful to delineate the events, but keep them connected due to limited travel funds.

We propose that the event be held on Presidents' Day every year. We suggest that the gathering be held from Friday through Monday with the first two days being the Organizer's Conference (OC) and the other two days being the EF! Winter Rendezvous.

We want to stress that the first two days be geared specifically towards getting concrete work done and

decisions made. Once that's past, the rest of the weekend is open for whatever people want to do/organize.

(We realize that many folks are going to car pool, so there will be some folks arriving at the beginning of the weekend who aren't necessarily interested in the OC. We recommend that these folks could help with the food and other logistical tasks.)

Annual structure outline

Friday: The agenda gets formed *first thing* Friday a.m. The agenda gets followed throughout the OC. Saturday: OC continues/concludes, partying begins. Sunday: Movement-wide workshops (i.e., follow-up from OC, gender, regional updates, guest speakers, campaigns), action planning, performance rally in the evening. Monday: Workshops, action prep. Tuesday: Action!

Five strategic questions

While the conference agenda is ultimately up to the people and groups participating, we also recognize these five questions that should be answered during every conference:

- 1) What is EF! doing currently?
- 2) What does the movement want to accomplish (goals)?
- 3) How can we improve the effectiveness of our campaigns?
- 4) What are our internal problems that need to be solved?
- 5) New tactics or strategies?

Funding of Conference

The OC should get at least \$1,000 from the previous RRRendezvous. It is also the responsibility of the OC committee to find grants. Money raised should go toward the site, food, travel and mailing expenses.

A flat fee should be charged to all participants, and the fee should always be sliding scale. We propose a *new rule* that any money left over (from registration fees, grants, etc.) after the conference bills are paid go towards funding next year's OC. There should also be a way for the local groups hosting the event to raise money for themselves as well, such as t-shirts, beer, etc.

Some of the money raised for the OC should also go toward a scholarship fund for travel allowances and an emergency fund for unforeseen expenses. The availability of travel money should be made clear well before the OC. Those who wish to use the scholarship fund need to apply well in advance of the conference. We recommend a deadline of January 1. Once the decisions on who gets funding are made, notification should go out quickly to all who applied.

It was also proposed that a permanent OC organizing committee be created that specifically handles fundraising for the conferences.

Booze

Ever a controversial issue, it was proposed that there be *no booze* during the OC. But that wasn't very popular, so we are "allowed" to do whatever we want at night during the first two days as long as everybody is responsible enough (able) to get up in the mornings and participate fully. Once the OC is over and the Winter Rendezvous commences, haul in the kegs. Ideally, we'd like to see an alcohol-free OC to facilitate getting decisions made.

That's it. Just to remind everyone, this is all merely a *proposal* to be discussed until a decision can be made at the Wisconsin RRR this summer.

FAIRMILE EVICTION CONTINUED

continued from front page

accord. Unfortunately, early morning radio news alerted the Sheriff to a sneak preview of these demands and he responded by evicting the communications rig at 7 a.m. Despite this, the demands were issued on behalf of the tunnelers at 9 a.m., and the media circus began in earnest. The demands did, to some extent, force the press to look at the issues related to the building of this road so all was not lost. Not surprisingly, Under Sheriff Coleman turned them down.

Around this time in London, work was stopped for the day on a Balfour Beatty site when five people

from London Reclaim The Streets climbed a crane and hung a banner reading, "Privatised Vandalism-stop building DBFO's. We love you Fairmile." (Balfour Beatty is involved in the construction of the A30).

Back in Fairmile, through a mixture of trickery on behalf of the safety officers and frantic digging, the bailiffs slowly removed the residents. As each one came out they entered into the clutches of an increasingly more rabid and sensationalised media machine. They finally removed Swampy after six days and 23 hours, making this the longest and most closely

watched eviction ever. The frightening extent of the media's monopoly on the public's consciousness has been demonstrated by their ability to put public opinion on our side! Although all of the people that were down the tunnels have got their heads screwed on, the intense pressure from the media for "human

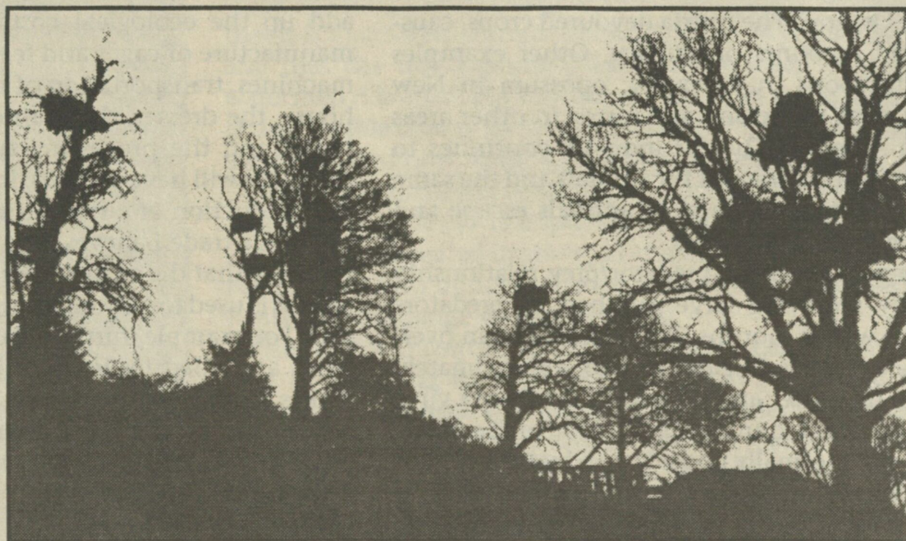
this) "Animal Writes!" Very funny... not. She has yet to make a decision, but has said that if she does do it she will use the column to expose multinationals and to galvanise people into taking action. We have yet to see whether or not any radical ideas she may try to get across will be censored out of existence. We will not even go into the offer from a very large record company to record a song!

Wasn't the Fairmile eviction just so fluffy? Don't you think that all those climbers and tunnelers were so nice and friendly? Seems like something might have changed in the past five years or so... or perhaps it had something to do with the fact that the media was allowed to witness an eviction.

A30 Action! has a huge phone bill af-

ter the last few months of sustained resistance to the road and the recent evictions. Any donations toward paying this off would help, otherwise they may have to send Swampy out to do some more modeling. Make cheques payable to Quercus Tribe and send to: A30 Action!, POB 6, Ottery St. Mary, Devon, EX11 1YL, England. For any more information on any aspect of the construction of the road and the resistance to it contact the A30 Action! group.

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The endangered nest-building *Homo sapien* has made a vigorous comeback in England.

interest" stories has resulted in articles like the one in *The Express* in which they dressed Swampy up in a variety of expensive suits and then reassured their readers that underneath the scruffy exterior and veneer of anti-state ideas, there beats a respectable, suburban, middle-class heart! In all fairness to Swampy, he did do it with his tongue firmly in his cheek and the money went straight to paying off his £500 fine for damaging surveying equipment at Newbury last year. To further illustrate the point, Animal, on emerging from her stint in the tunnels, was offered a column in *The Mirror*, entitled (you'll like

A LUDDISM FOR TODAY...

continued from front page

Proceed they did. With a fury made stronger by the loss of their comrade, they broke down the front door and smashed the windows while the family and guards escaped by the back entrance. And then, methodically, they smashed the remaining looms and some of the furniture, set fire to the house and dispersed into the night, never identified, never caught. The house was a gutted ruin in an hour.

Thus, starkly, began the movement that was to become known as Luddism, named after the mythical and mysterious figure who, in different guises and different locales,

that advance the larger economic and cultural interests of that system, and it will not do other kinds of things or even allow other ways of thinking that are threatening or antithetical to it.

Therefore, it is vital that we keep this issue in the forefront of current debate and on all the agendas of political action. Modern technology is catastrophically changing all aspects of the world around us, and it is imperative that we confront it, name it as the enemy, encourage resistance to it and work to see that its devastations are minimized and eventually negated.

This means learning and laying out as clearly and fully as possible the full range of costs and consequences of this technology in the near term and long,

ago in suggesting "quiet acts of mental and physical withdrawal" and "a stoppage of senseless routines and mindless acts." Or communitarian, as with the Amish communities and Indian tribes that have chosen the wisdom of their traditional ways and simply rejected those aspects of the industrial system they find harmful and threatening to their land-based, communal, small-scale way of life. Above all, they can be political, continually and urgently bringing the messages and warnings of technological crisis to as wide an audience as possible through all means of communication—and posing the sensible alternatives that give some hope of living rightly on the earth.

3) We can find no better guide for our stance toward technology than Herbert Read's, "Only a people serving an apprenticeship to nature can be trusted with machines." When an economy is not so embedded in nature it not only wreaks its harm throughout the biosphere in indiscriminate and ultimately fatal ways, but it also loses its sense of the human as a species and the individual as an animal. In fact it creates such a mighty technosphere, speedy, powerful, efficient and consumptive, that the biosphere becomes nothing more than a source for extraction and a basin for wastes, and the human becomes entirely displaced and alienated from its natural systems and rhythms. That way madness, and ecocide, lies.

The first part of any coherent analysis with which to confront and resist the industrial system must be based in Read's quite simple idea: only insofar as we individually, and then as a society collectively, devote ourselves to a deep understanding

solution, and it is exemplified today by a whole movement of neo-Luddites proud to call themselves so.

Such an ideology would contain, I'd like to suggest, such postulates as these: Industrialism is the culture that is endangering economic, social and environmental systems around the world and must be opposed by an organicism based on the integrity, stability and harmony of the biotic world. Anthropocentrism is the dangerous mind-set of the industrial culture and must be opposed by a biocentrism that teaches a spiritual identification of the human with all living species and the living earth. Globalism is the economic and military strategy of the industrial system and must be opposed by an assertion of localism and an empowerment of the coherent bioregion and the human-scale community. And capitalism is the means of exploitation and unjust distribution underlying that system and must be opposed by an ecological economy built upon harmony with the earth and cooperation among humans.

That is not complex. A movement united around just those principles, at least for starters, would have a firm sense of where and what the problem is and where and what the solutions are.

A Luddism for today is certainly feasible, and the initial shock troops are already in place, the lessons from the past ready and available, and the strategies and tactics, at least for the moment, pretty well evident. We are, moreover, at an auspicious time, when the pace and price of high technology are causing increasing dislocations in economic and social lives, in the US and around the world, and an increasing number of people are willing to start questioning the assumptions and resisting the directions imposed by the technological system.

Might it be too much to expect that, in the not-so-distant future, a band of Luddite lads and ladies will be sitting around a crowded pub, just as the Nottingham warriors did in the fall of 1811, singing the equivalent of that rousing Luddite song:

Now by force unsubdued, and by threats undismay'd

Death itself can't his (King Ludd's) ardor repress;

The presence of armies can't make him afraid

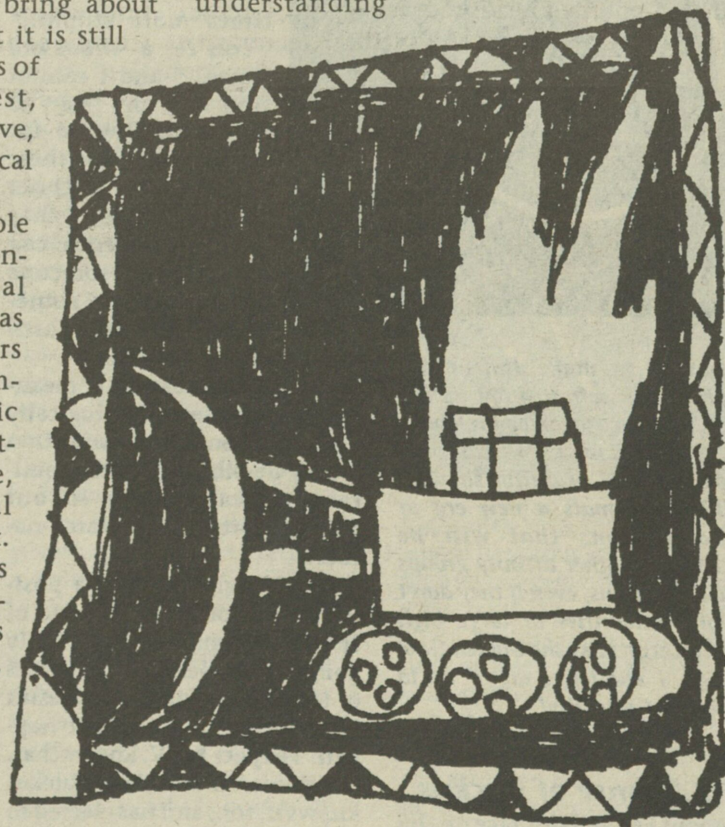
or impede his career of success;

Whilst the news of his conquests is spread far and near,

How his Enemies take the alarm;

His courage, his fortitude, strikes them with fear,

For they dread his Omnipotent Arm!



was their leader, King Edward ("Ned") Ludd. It began that November night in 1811, just as England was rushing headlong into what would become known as the Industrial Revolution, and it ended, with 11 Luddites hanging from the York gallows, in January of 1813. Before it was over, it destroyed something over £100,000 worth of property (at a time when the average laborer earned around £30 a year), including at least 1,500 weaving machines, two houses, three factories and a public hall; it had forced the British Government to send nearly 14,000 soldiers to quell the uprising, at a cost of probably close to a million pounds; it had given up probably three dozen lives in Luddite actions and another 24 to the gallows, and had taken one mill owner's life and injured several others; and it had embedded in the culture of English industrialism, and the English language itself, an irradicable idea of opposition to the domination of industrial technology and to the values of mechanization, exploitation, consumption, competition and emasculation that go along with it—an idea alive with new vigor now, as the second Industrial Revolution empowered by the microchip sweeps the world.

But it did not win. In the end, with the power of amoral wealth and the British political and military machines against it, Luddism was crushed, and the factory system and technological values of the Industrial Revolution triumphed.

And that is why, today, for those of us who understand that first movement of Luddites and wish to find some way to march under that banner again in opposition to the present onslaught of technology, it is important to draw from the experience of Luddism. I suggest that there are four particularly pertinent lessons:

1) The issue of technology is not secondary or irrelevant: it is paramount. Let us not fall for the line that technology is neutral and it only matters who controls it, good guys or bad. That is dangerous nonsense. Technology, as Norbert Wiener (the father of cybernetics) knew well, comes with the logic and aims of the economic system that spawns it, and it will do those things

so that even those in thrall to the ease/comfort/speed/power of high-tech gadgetry are forced to understand at what price it comes and who is paying for it. And it means awakening people to see who it is that really benefits from the technology—not this individual number-cruncher or that scientist or the house-ridden grandmother over there, but rather the large corporate and governmental organizations that created the stuff in the first place so as to exert their control farther and more efficiently.

2) Revolt is futile and reform ineffectual, but resistance is both possible and necessary. With the real means of repression in the hands of the state, and the legislative bodies in the pockets of the corporations, neither armed violence nor electoral legalism will work to bring about significant change. But it is still possible to fashion ways of resistance and protest, individual and collective, local and regional, physical and intellectual.

There is clearly a role here for violent confrontation, as the original Luddites showed and as many varieties of ecoteurs in recent years have demonstrated—it is a tactic that has a shock and attention-getting value, even a certain moral power and audacity to it. But it should be obvious by now that it is extremely limited in its power to effect change, particularly in a country like the United States, where the government has such overwhelming strength on its side—military, police, propaganda, money, etc.—and is not afraid to use it. Moreover, it is hard to argue that the low means of violence are justified by the high ends of principle, and without that moral underpinning violence usually tends to lose its political utility.

Nonetheless, other ways of challenging the industrial status quo are available. They can be personal, as Lewis Mumford urged a generation

and appreciation of nature—much as the tenets of deep ecology would have us do—can we learn to choose the technologies that we can safely adopt. The second part:

4) We must articulate and spread an ideology based on the long and rich tradition of antitechnology beginning with Luddites. It is there for us to use and its library is full of brilliant statements of the problem and moving exhortations toward the

Kirkpatrick Sale is the author of *Rebels Against the Future: The Luddites and Their War on the Industrial Revolution: Lessons for the Computer Age*. (Addison Wesley). He is a member of the Lead Pencil Club, the E.F. Schumacher Society, the International Forum on Globalization, the Jacques Ellul Society and the Good Life Center to preserve the legacy of Scott and Helen Nearing.

The mantra of the universe echoes

I ♥ money

As a young, white, well-educated male who makes over \$50,000 per year, I can see why many liberals resent the fact that all the "breaks" go to people like me and my beautiful wife. I like the fact that for Valentine's Day I gave her a tanzanite ring that was probably mined using underpaid, overworked laborers while wreaking havoc on the local environment; better there than in my backyard. I use my brain to be able to afford to live where I choose.

Believe it or not, my friends and I actually enjoy driving our cars, we sometimes do it for pleasure. Right now my wife and I have two new cars and are considering a third—just for fun!

The sad reality is that fringe groups such as yourselves have been around spouting off whatever message is fashionable since time immemorial while people like me have been going to work, getting ahead, and accumulating the power and wealth which you rail against. It's just like kindergarten; those who have get more, while those who have not get less.

Intelligent discourse is welcomed but please, no name calling.

—RICHARD HAAS

HOSSMAN@LPHA.WCOIL.COM

I.M. shadow boxing

To EF!

"No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth."

How does winding up articles with appeals to write politicians for their support square with "no compromise"?

How is "Renewing the Soul of the Environment" by EF! editor A. Hines not compromised, with its New Age, let's be nice message?

And what about the confused "Burning Mystery of Oakridge Ranger Station" piece, which goes out of its way to remove from consideration the idea that Oakridge was razed as an uncompromised act of creative defiance?

When is it time to drop the symbolic shadow-boxing and fight back? When is it really "No Compromise in Defense of Mother Earth"?

—I.M. PISSED, PORTLAND, OREGON

Back stabbing

Dear Earth First! Journal,

This response is regarding your unnecessary backstab at Greenpeace in your article on the Golden Gate Bridge banner hang for the Headwaters forest. ("The People vs. Woody Harrelson," Feb/March 1997) For your information, Greenpeace actually helped more than you might have expected, behind the scenes. Greenpeace provided its warehouse space in San Francisco for the banner preparation and climbing practice. Greenpeace canvassers from the San Francisco office provided support for the action. And Greenpeace pro-

vided use of its communications van and communications expert leading up to and during the action. Also some of the climbers were ex-Greenpeaceers who received some of their initial climbing training from Greenpeace.

In the future, please feel free to call and ask me information about our involvement before slinging some more mud at us. We are all in this together, and we should be able to work with respect for each other's contributions.

Thank you,

—INGRID GORDON, WEST COAST ACTION COORDINATOR, GREENPEACE

So sorry

What can I say? Ingrid is right. We are all in this together, and we should be able to work with respect for each other's contributions. Although the remark was meant to be amusing (oops!) and illustrate the fly-by-the-seat-of-your-pants and outrageous nature of our time line, I can see where it could come off as an unnecessary jab.

And I should know better, considering that I have spent the last few months on the hot seat, criticized by my peers for bringing Woody into the action at all, and getting beat up on a regular basis by Bay Area AM radio talk show hosts over the traffic issue. Point well taken.

It's true that individuals associated with many different environmental groups contributed generously of their time and

"play by their rules" means the same thing Velour means by "appropriate the tools." When Ruckus says we "must develop message discipline" and Fez V. says "we need to convey why these actions are not radical, but simply necessary," where is the incompatibility? Velour is under the impression that Ruckus is advocating "a strict diet of media actions" "abandoning substantive actions," and urging us all to "stop talking about biodiversity." Oh, pshaw. All the activists I know who have attended the Ruckus action camps (did Velour talk to them, or does s/he get all his/her interpretations of reality from *Outside* magazine?) went to pick up some tips—primarily, how to scale tall structures—and came back to their local, grass-roots groups (including EF!) to apply what they'd learned to their own substantive actions—"actions to protest an injustice first and foremost and to tell the world about it secondarily"—along with a little more savvy about how the media works. They added Ruckus' tools to their kit. They didn't abandon anything.

I see the furious personal and factional sniping in these pages; I read the line-by-line attacks and counter-attacks and counter-counter-attacks posted on computer bulletin boards between eco-druids and Sahara Club yahoos—sandbox altercations on the level of "You're stupid!" "You're a hundred times more stupid!" "You're a thousand times..." and I cannot find it in my heart to condemn Ruckus for trying to nudge these campers a little closer to something that masscult America can recognize as someone talking about something they might possibly be able to relate to.

Fez V. concludes that "meaningful, long term, biologically based environmental protection is only possible with a concomitant radical change in our culture's attitudes towards nature."

That's right. And in a post-industrial society at the end of the 20th century, that's only going to happen via the offices of the mass media. If it doesn't happen on TV, it didn't happen. I expect Fez V. knows that, and doesn't much like it. Ruckus knows it, too, and has elected to use it as a tool.

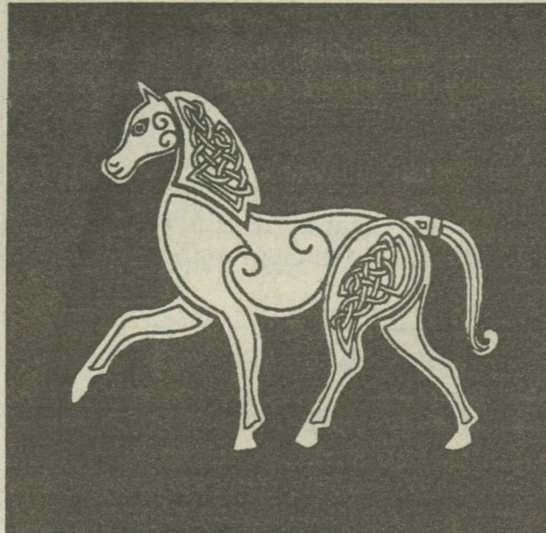
I'm glad that Velour can recall actions that got national and international coverage because they "were actions that rang true." Wonderful. But in all probability, there was an activist involved who had a cell phone, a fax machine and a list of media organizations, and who knew what to say to the assignment editor to get the camera crews out. And that

probably had something to do with it, too.

—ANDREW CHRISTIE, LOS ANGELES

From the English poky

To the EF! Activist Conference, A big ole howdy to y'all down there in sunny California. It is rather wet here in Wales but the



P.S. If Casey Neill is there, please tease him good naturedly about his overseas fame. "Dancing on the ruin of multinational corporations" is a household term (or rather a tree house term) and I heard "hurrah for the riff raff" sung in a road blockade campsite.

P.P.S. It is with a sad heart and thirsty mouth that I must report a boycott call against Guinness, brewers of the holy stout, for trashing and evicting an eco-village that was squatted on the corporations land. Perhaps the UK roadshow crew won't need to raise as much money now! By the way, the tour is being billed over here as the US EF! roadshow, a label we Canadians and pseudo-Canadians will not stand for.

Schnauzers to Beneville

I see that Craig Beneville did not correct the error in Wolves and Poodles concerning the allegation that I spoke in support of the Vancouver Aquarium at a Vancouver Parks Board meeting. He said that he would.

Is truth determined by access to the media or by fact. In the established media it is usually determined by access. I guess the same holds true for the *Journal*. The truth is what you decide will be the truth.

My opening statement before the Parks Board in the September 1996 meeting began with these words. "I am not here to support the Vancouver Aquarium."

By the way, what do you people have against poodles? As a point of information, they are quite intelligent dogs, originally bred in France as hunting dogs.

—PAUL WATSON

SEA SHEPHERD CONSERVATION SOCIETY

From the Gulag

Hi Folks,

A friend shared the Brigid '97 *Journal* with me. I hadn't seen a *Journal* in several years (I've been way out of touch here in the gulag) and I was pleased and relieved to see what a great job you're doing. Its better than ever although as an unreformed monkeywrencher of the old school, I do miss "Dear Ned Ludd."

I especially want to applaud the articles on pages 12 and 13 (about Freddie cops and the history of the FS). Both were good educational articles. A brief, minor criticism—in Jon Doe-Nut's description of the Freddie cops armament there are a couple of errors. The Ruger Mini-30 shoots a .30 caliber cartridge identical to the AK-47 (known as the 7.62 x 39mm). M-60 machine guns shoot a different, albeit .30 caliber, cartridge (the 7.62 x 51mm). These cartridges are also known as the 7.62 or .30 caliber Russian, and the 7.62 or .30 caliber NATO. AR-15 and M-16 rifles shoot a cartridge known as the .223 Remington or 5.56mm

—AL DECKER



resources to make the action happen. (I'll refrain from listing them, just in case someone reopens the class action suit!) I can only hope that this beautiful show of solidarity signals a new era of collaborations that will be extended to other affinity groups and EF! actions, even if they don't involve celebrities or large high profile targets like the Golden Gate Bridge. I challenge all of us to make that a reality!

—CELIA (AKA SORREL)

In defense of Ruckus

About Fez Velour's take on the true meaning of activism re "Staying on Message with the Ruckus Society" in your Yule issue.

Most of Velour's bone of contention with Ruckus and its impure emphasis on the importance of media seems to turn on semantics. Ruckus says "you won't get your point across unless you play by their rules." Velour responds "The point is to appropriate the process." Ruckus, of course, in saying

through the valleys... 300 words or less

NATO. These details are petty, but I thought you might want to pass them on to Jon in case he uses the article or parts of it again.

One other question/suggestion: has anyone done an article warning people about Wackenhut Corporation security people? If not, it's sorely needed. Wackenhut has intelligence gathering capabilities surpassing many government entities, and I know from experience that they don't let minor technical details such as people's constitutional rights get in their way. They have a cozy, inbred relationship with many large resource-robbing corporations and the various government lackeys that serve them, as well as military and nuke industry ties. These are very dangerous people. By the early '80s they already had begun keeping files on environmental activists.

As I said, I haven't been able to read the *Journal* for years so perhaps this has already been addressed.

Keep up the good work, folks. Reading the *Journal* made me terribly homesick, but at the same time gave me hope. I've been caged since the summer of '90, so it was like a breath of fresh air.

Take Care,

—ROD SMITH

P.S. I can't resist adding a suggestion for Jerry Kerwin, the one who wrote from the Bronx to whine: Jerry, get out of the city. Find a forest, a beach; anyplace with a little natural wildness left in it. Talk to some hippie drug freaks. Breathe. Relax. In a little while you'll be ready to go back and confront the problems, rather than your allies. Good Luck.

For Judi Bari

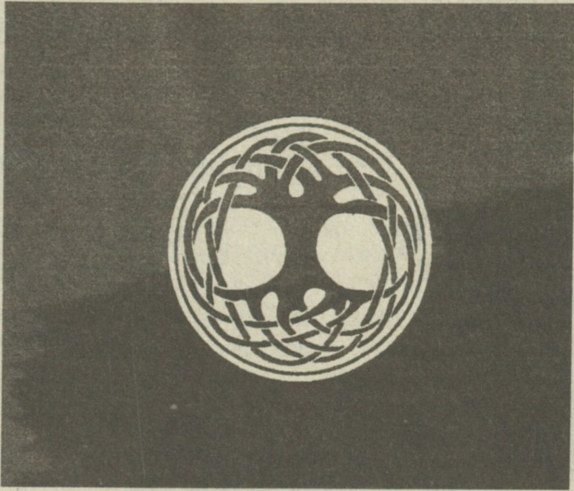
Dear Fellow Cell Life,

What a fun foto of Woody on The Cable Channel (cover of your *Brigid* issue). Unlike some, I've always hoped for a balance of a few famous in our ranks. Now we have our own action movie hero. The best part is he just seems to be a regular guy who achieved some fame and is willing to use it to help out.

I'm writing today really to let the dear *Earth First! Journal* readers know that Donna Howard-Hastings and I are dedicating this Moon of Lockdown Cell Life to Judi Bari. Since we learned of her news we've been writing to each other and others and we've been holding Judi in our evening time prayer circle. I've tried to get to a sweat lodge but I've been moved three times recently and am now in the hole (no compromise), so horizons are physically limited.

But not spiritually. Nine years ago some brothers in prison helped me with a tumor. Now we invite a strong, wide, and deep prayer circle for the gift of profound calm and inner gratitude for Judi Bari, a fighter with hard wounds and great honor. She's done what most of

us who believe in nonviolence fear we may be called to do someday: take great bodily injury and keep battling nonviolently. Her steadfastness is a model that will outlive us all, a story of fidelity in the face of the most cruel and venal cowardly violence.



Please join Donna and me and others in this widening circle. A bond between us all, extended to Judi in the serene center, is the kind of power no block walls, no concertina razor wire, no cancer cells of the empire, can imprison. Prayer and action can never replace each other but together form a more holistic response to our personal and planetary emergencies.

—TOM HOWARD-HASTINGS
PRISONER FOR NONVIOLENCE

Grand jury correction

Dear *Earth First! Journal*

In response to the article about grand juries by the National Activist Network. As a target of five federal grand juries between 1991-95, I'm concerned with how we treat activists fighting grand juries and federal indictment. NAN insinuates immunity from prosecution is offered when one, "compromises their beliefs and starts singing," this wasn't the case when Deb Stout, Kim Trimiew and author Rik Scarce were subpoenaed to the grand jury. All refused to cooperate and nonetheless were offered immunity. Far from compromising, these activists were imprisoned for six months each.

NAN also criticizes activists who accept assistance from People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals who've helped many subpoenaed before grand juries. PETA also has provided prisoner support since I was arrested unconditionally and despite letters from PETA, my lawyers and me, NAN insists PETA pressured me into accepting a plea agreement. My decision was based on evidence connecting me to Animal Liberation Front arsons and break-ins. NAN states there "was a good chance I could have gotten off or spent less time in jail" had I gone to trial. NAN was never privy to facts of my legal case, crimes or evidence in my case. In light of evidence against me and the unbalanced scales of justice towards indigenous people, only a fool wouldn't entertain a plea agreement of three to four years, rather than facing 10-12 had I gone to trial. I refused NAN le-

gal aid when their lawyer encouraged me more than anyone to go to trial or he'd quit my case, which he did.

NAN also obtained portions of my sentencing transcript and presented them out of context to discredit me. Using the Internet, NAN fostered divisions which allowed larger issues of prisoner support to be overshadowed by accusations about my diet, my tribe's use of feathers and fur in ceremonies and statements of remorse I hoped would get me an 18 month reduction for "acceptance of responsibility." I was refused based on my unwillingness to testify against ALF warriors. NAN obtained excerpts of my statements and circulated them to the animal rights community. I learned of this from hate mail accusing me of being a traitor and sell-out.

It's important to recognize a tactic of our opposition is to discredit and isolate imprisoned activists and those targeted by grand juries through misinformation that questions the credibility of a movement's members. Federal agents and infiltrators aren't the only ones to do this, sometimes our own knowingly or unknowingly spread lies and rumors. Never have I answered questions from grand juries or federal agents, yet found myself the target of a smear campaign by NAN who circulated rumors that I had cooperated with prosecutors for a shorter sentence.

If we're to stand against increased repression such as grand juries, we must recognize the diversity of the targeted who represent environmental, social, indigenous and animal defense. We should offer our unconditional support and trace origins of rumors or substantiate them as truth rather than tolerate smear campaigns against activists who choose prison over cooperation with the government. Failure to acknowledge wrongdoing only ensures it will happen again. The truest test of our movement shall come as we enter the era when all defenders of earth, animals and traditional indigenous sovereignty are again persecuted by the US government. Our strength as movements must be reflected in our ability to recognize common ground and counter repression with strong networks of prisoner and legal support as well as developing tolerance and acceptance of cultures and beliefs separate from our own. We are a family, a community and a resistance. Now let's prepare for the battles ahead.

For Earth,

—ROD CORONADO

Woody assholes

Dear SFB:

Justin Time's exposes of the Big Greens are sometimes A-one. However, Time's lip service to real heroes like Judi Bari, who have literally given their lives to saving the trees, and his effusive praise for phony opportunists like

Woody Harrelson detract from his credibility and worse, cancel his message that power corrupts.

Harrelson took time from promo-ing his dishonest portrayal of sleaze-peddler Larry Flynt as a warm, cuddly Horatio Alger of porn and First Amendment martyr, to blow in and out of Northern California and successfully co-opt the entire Headwaters issue.

Harrelson chose a starring role in a movie that whitewashes a misogynist publication which made its name and fortune portraying women as barnyard mammals, disembodied genitalia, and pieces of meat to be snuffed, tortured or degraded. Funny, huh?

It's obvious Harrelson needed to deflect criticism from his promotion of Flynt, and took full advantage of the mass-media photo ops for his Golden Gate performance and an appearance on Letterman. Just how hard is it for a professional actor to play the feisty environmentalist? Now there's an Oscar performance. And what purpose is served by making misogyny okay as long as you hug trees and smoke "hemp"? This is "brave"? Get real! This guy deserves no accolades for his acting or his PR coup, and a good muckraker like Justin Time should know better.

As to your kiss-ass front page spread on Harrelson, adulation for celebrity, pandering to the corporate media, and photo-op media events have nothing to do with anything except play-

That's show biz and that's you, assholes!

—UNSIGNED FOR THE UNSUNG

Ozzy forever

Dear SFBs,

Although solidarity statements from celebrities can be frustrating, we need to be pragmatic. As Baywatch actress Alexandra Paul statement demonstrates (Yule EF!), certain people in very different situations in society can be surprisingly sympathetic to our goals (I was surprised!) While I've long ago dropped television (figuratively and literally), folks similar to Alexandra can influence their peers. As anyone who's ever needed a good lawyer real bad can attest to, it's good to have folks with power on your side.

If folk stars and millionaires come forth offering their time, money and ideas, that reflects the strength and influence of our ideas! We live in a society profoundly subdivided by "race" (skin color), economics, religion, and ethnicity. While I agree with Bay's letter when [s]he points out the *Journal's* focus on a star, EF! can use all the allies we can attract!

Signed,

—SLY

P.S. Consider that John Lennon and Ozzy Osborne had FBI files because of what could slip out of their mouth and into a microphone!

Hi bear nation

Dear Hi Bear Nation Constipation,

To the so-called "Earth First" move-ment: I have a con-fesshun to make. For the passed few years I've been a double agent (maybe even a tripled or quadraphonic one even). When I wrote my book "Walkin' Off The Ledge" ("How I influenza-ed Earth 1st") it wasn't nuthin' personal—I just had ta cover my monkey wrenchin tracks and blame my klandeskin actions on sumbody else ta keep the feds off. Meanwhiles I discovered that I could bilk witless timburr cumpennies out of money—an' gullibill redneck ninnies too. So I

went on speakin' tours and made "wise use" of their fears an' money. But speakin too much gives one a swelled head, an' there isn't one to be found more swelled than mine—especially during the ABC = unabomber stunt I pulled. But now that kinda attention is hard for me to get. Also the apocalips is cuming in a couple a years an my spiking arm is gettin' sore. So I'm going underground for reel. Bye Bye.

—BEAR E. CLAWSON

P.S. I found the best way for me to do all this is to have no conscience—an' I don't

P.S.S. Ya know this tattooing an' piercing is wussie. Me, I'm into branding, like different corporate logos on secret parts of my beer bloated bod, yeah.

S.O.S. Help I wanna write another book (any ghost writers out there an' fed advisors?)



ing footsy with the sick system which has brought the environmental movement to the begging, whining, compromising, elitist posture it was once rightfully accused of in the pages of your publication.

But hey, maybe if you give him more media blow jobs, Harrelson will get you a bit part in his next movie, "The People vs. Charles Hurwitz," where he plays a misunderstood, rags to riches entrepreneur, who makes a few billion, is martyred by militant, fascist environmentalist buffoons, then goes to Court to defend sacred private property rights for all of us! And anyone who doesn't appreciate the robust humor and tragic depth of this ultimately decent and heroic character is a dour prude and a censor! And if things get too hot, maybe Harrelson can jump on the no-fur campaign!

ARMED WITH VISIONS

CLEAR AS CUT GLASS AND...

JUST AS DANGEROUS

DREAMCATCHER

Cove /Mallard ID.
to Thunder and (her dog) Bones,
Rainbow Warriors

Thunder is rolling on the edge of the world
sleeping in the cave where the dog guards
the bone of human cycles
older than time, he warms himself
to thunder's kindling fire
his old cracked ears listening to the faintest howl
the wildest singin' ancient guards—before him
singing their dreams to the old web of Life
fastening their songs in the dreamcatcher

Furry faces, feathered faces
crawling beings, tree beings
human beings of all directions
forming and transforming
in the web of Life
all the fragile silvery threads
leading towards the center

Carrier of bones listening to the faintest howl
the wildest singin' ancient guards—before him
Guard of Life, Guard of Death
he knows the green phosphor light of trees
and the wise old tales they speak
stretching out to the worlds
standing tall and free
when the sharp hungry mouths
are coldly sucking their blood away

destroying the dream
destroying the web

Furry faces, feathered faces
crawling beings, tree beings
silent in the forest, cutting clear
where can they shelter
where can they sleep
prey for the gun
prey for starvation
where can they run
Flowing to the river of no return...



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Old carrier of the rootbone
bleached white in the sun
indestructible bone of Life
—way down in the wild woods
—way down in the mountains
his old cracked ears listening to the faintest howl
the wildest singin' ancient guards—before him
tracking his shadow—down
to another carrier of bones—after him
traveller of worlds in between

He knows the sacred songs of Life
travelling the path to the center
he knows the threads of relations
the cyclic balance of interconnection

Keeping the sacred dream of Life
Keeping the sacred web of Life

—Fauve



Substitute

In the classroom

I am a substitute
in a school
which is a substitute
for experience, passion
community, wildness

Well, wildness and passion are still there
in some of them
badly translated

into nicotine french fries
carburetor song
and wallpaper television

and hardly spoken at all
by the
administrators & parents
on the peripheries

of lives

which are quickly becoming substitutes
for the people they might've been

in a time of less rage
in a place with more bears

—Mark London Williams
2/20/97



BC21

"Jobs, jobs, jobs"

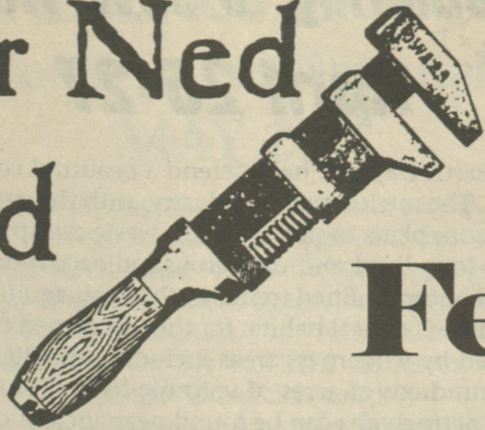
scream the angry mobs
prior to election day.
And watch every MP or MLA wannabe
prey to the god ECONOMY—
one mean dude,
especially to those who can't vote:
Eagle, deer, bear, and your children,
yet unborn.
But what about those jobs?
Productive? long term? meaningful?
Hell no, but we don't care.
Just give us two months doing construction
this summer, then lay us off,
or, as the experts might say,
—sacrifice; to the god ECONOMY.

Hey, at least the roads are in better shape,
for family-packed RV's going "camping" by a lake.
(For those who have jobs at any rate)

How are we going to eliminate the car culture
(the planet's at stake, you know)
if these election promises keep getting in our way?
Paving and repaving
while mass transit is still
sadly inadequate.
But at least we have jobs.
(This summer)

—Mark Stoddart

Dear Ned Ludd



Ned Ludd is an open forum for the discussion of monkeywrenching and other tactics useful to the struggle against the modern industrial juggernaut.

Fence Mending 101

"Tied her with fences...
And dragged her down..."

That's Mother Earth that Jim Morrison's talking about. Of all the infernal devices ranchers use to strangle the land, fences are the most visibly lethal. Any country dweller has probably seen at least one deer corpse hanging from these death traps. Every year, countless birds are also snared by fences.

In the West, many deer and antelope herds are depleted by "sport hunters." We can't do much about boneheaded game agencies selling licenses like there's no tomorrow, but we can reduce deaths caused by fences.

It took the grizzly demise of two neighborhood fawns to get me off my duff. Both were caught on old fences serving no purpose since the area was subdivided; one victim was savaged by dogs. Outraged, I surveyed deer traffic patterns and got to work.

Halfway through my task of righting old wrongs, lessons emerged. Uppermost is the fact that a loose fence is deadlier than a tight one. Western range fences usually feature a strand of barbed wire on top. Below this first strand, there can be more barbed wire, a second strand of barbed wire with field fencing beneath or just field fencing. Slob fence builders wrap wire around trees, and unless a good Samaritan (that's you) comes along, the trees slowly choke to death.

Whatever fiendish construction you're dealing with, its degree of peril to animals depends on its tautness and height. Deer often strike fences with their hooves on the way over. The tighter the wire, the less chance an animal will catch a hoof between two wires. If you're too lazy to fix a fence proper, don't touch it!

The first order of fence mending is tools. Being a member of the "fair" sex and not wonderfully adept with my hands, I started out with 6-inch line pliers. These feature square ends, and they cut through narrow gauge (baling) wire.

As soon as my wire-wrestling muscles harden, I'll graduate to 8-inch line pliers. Better-coordinated fence menders may prefer diagonal head pliers for more precise wire grasping. [Ed. note—We recommend using fence pliers; they are made for the job and can pull wire from trees/posts.] Bolt cutters are the solution to long-forgotten gate padlocks.

Next, decide where your improvement will do the most good. I follow deer tracks and concentrate on the barriers to established paths. I watch for fences lined with many tracks, some made by does looking for spots to get their fawns over. On roads, I'm careful not to create crossings near blind curves.

The conscientious fence mender doesn't attack just any old fence. Some, like the high ones along freeways, help guide animals to underpasses and must be left alone (till doomsday renders them obsolete). Think about where you want deer or antelope traffic to go; i.e. don't steer them near houses with loose dogs.

Even if your handiwork only lasts a season, it's worth the trouble in places frequented by hooved creatures, especially on roads. Many a time I've seen the larger members of a herd jump high fences, while the little ones frantically butt their heads against them. Fixing roadside fences makes it harder for poachers to corner their quarry. Consider the season; time your mending with herd migrations.

It'd be nice to make bad fences disappear, but practicality limits most of us to modifications. Al-

ways consider how much "repair" you can get away with. Repairs on abandoned fences near ranchettes tend to stay that way, whereas those on active ranches will be periodically checked. In the interest of remaining low-key, I seldom cut large holes in fences.

It is most important to reduce a fence's height so fawns can negotiate it. Field fencing topped with a single strand of barbed wire is the easiest to lower. Fencing in my neighborhood is either tied to juniper posts with baling wire, or fixed to steel posts with short, thick wire. With tied barbed wire, I unwind the tie wire and use it to fasten the barbed wire to the lower field fencing, repeating the process on two or three fence posts to create a sizable safety zone.

Field fencing topped by two strands of barbed wire is the most diabolical. The strands are often close together and hanging slack—a recipe for disaster. I loosen both strands and tie them to the field fencing, leaving no gaps.

In areas where a fence probably won't be reinstated, I also loosen the field fencing and bend it over until the fence is only two or three feet tall. It's vital that you don't bend a fence so it sticks out horizontally. Deer are used to clearing two-dimensional barriers and are likely to get hung up on a fence that's bent out instead of down.

Use the wire you've unwound to tie bent fencing to itself or to a post whenever possible. If you've got only rusting wire to work with, wind it many times.



JIM PAGE: If Brains Were Outlawed Only Outlaws Would Have Brains

MUSIC REVIEWED BY CASEY NEILL

Jim Page has never been shy about musically opening a can of worms. It's what he does best, whether kicking down the truth about current events or opening a deeper place inside himself and the listener. For years Jim has been performing in the US and Europe, from large theaters to support tours for AIM to the street at Pike Place Market. This winter sees the release of his ninth, and best ever, full-length album "Who's World Is This?" Revolutionary consciousness is central to Jim's witty and biting songs. He has been involved in a number of roadshows—one for Headwaters, the recent benefit tour for Judi Bari and a legendary night of music at the Austin Activist Conference. Although most of these tunes are not directly "environmental," they all conjure environments that holistically link the exploitation of the Earth to the socio-political and the personal. Deep ecology this ain't, but any radical with a head on their shoulders will love this record. Jim Page is a master of the craft of song writing, a wicked guitar player and the most relevant topical musician of his day.

This CD begins with the title track: *What kind of world will our children receive/after all is said and done/What kind of creed have we come to believe that they may never receive one?/Who's world is this?*

A haunting blend of dunbek and uilleann pipes punctuate the bridge of this anthem for our time. Jim has tastily arranged the instrumentation on all the tunes, along with Orville Johnson in the producer's chair. Mandolins, harmonica, fiddle, electric guitar, fretless bass, button accordion, dobro, banjo, pedal steel and various percussion all fill out

Small rolls of narrow gauge wire are handy to ensure permanent repairs. If you're cutting all the way through a fence, tie the sharp ends to one side.

In the case of fences likely to be revamped come spring, I strive for less obvious corrections. A suspicious rancher is a vigilant rancher. The most innocent-looking mend involves loosening the top wire(s) on enough consecutive fence posts so it hangs below the field fencing without having to tie it.

All barbed-wire fences are easier, if you don't count shredded gloves. Simply undo the top one or two wires from several posts and wrap them around the next strand down until they're safely stuck together. This often seems to happen without anyone's help. Fences can be hotbeds of disease, so consider how long it's been since your last tetanus shot.

When it comes to fences and gates holding livestock, decide whether you really want those beasties escaping. In many cases, fences keep critters out of places where no nature lover wants them. The rancher may be overjoyed to have stock feast on pristine lands. A rancher won't mind the mess made by rounding up the renegades, but you will. Some might think it fun to liberate prize stock or feedlot inmates for the hell of it, but remember, saving wildlife is the key to our salvation.

The responsible fence mender doesn't forget a fence once it's worked on. Check tracks after storms to see if more adjustments are needed and if your wires are coming loose. If you must fix a fence in an area neither you nor anyone else will check on, aim for repairs that will last as long as the fence. An animal's life may depend on it. Happy mending!

the tunes. It's never too much, with each combination serving the individual mood of the song and letting the lyrics shine.

"Take Our Culture Back" is a playful cheer for culture jamming, pirate radio and subversion. "Righteous" is another bouncy one that addresses society's misguided condemnation of the healing herb. "Only Talkin' on the Radio" and the ghost track "The Billion Dollar Jaw" both attack the barrage of "revolutionary conservatism" on the airwaves, linking the spewage of hatred to the Oklahoma City tragedy.

"Puritan Seeds" also frames such destructive mindsets historically. "Tina" is a track co-written with John Trudell and is a gorgeous tribute to John's late wife. For those familiar with her story, this incredible song is intensely emotive. "Who's World Is This?" also includes tracks that address more personal aspects of our lives such as family ("The Shiny Bright Silver Dollar"), longing ("Missing You More"), death ("Beautiful Tear") and alienation ("Stranger in Me").

The *Journal* is also carrying Jim's 1993 release "More Than Anything Else in the World." This album is served raw with just Jim and his guitar. "Valdez" is a ripin' attack on eco-despoilers, "Gasworks Park" is an urban environmental love song and "If You Love the Water" is a beautiful tribute to Mother Nature and healing. Other songs address the LA riots, slam Clinton and defend Sinéad O'Connor's condemnation of the pope.

Both of these records are vital and musically amazing. After listening to them you'll be wanting to check out one of his shows. Then maybe you'll find yourself opening your own can of worms.

ROAD RAGING:

Top Tips for Wrecking Roadbuilding

This book shares experiences of nonviolent, direct action against roadbuilding in Britain, from Twyford Down in 1992 to Newbury in 1996. This is not a coffee table history book, but a practical, illustrated guide for action. It covers a wide range of subjects including building a campaign from scratch, action tactics, publicity, camps, bureaucrat baiting, evictions and much more!

The book is a total rewrite of *The Complete Anti-Road Protester* which was produced in 1994. We hope that the ideas in *Road Raging* are applicable to other protest issues and of particular interest to readers outside Britain.

For a copy, write to Road Alert! at POB 5544, Newbury, Berkshire, RG14 5FB, UK.

We'll send a free copy to any bona-fide group outside the UK who can't afford to pay, but we need and hope for donations.

Vallecitos Refuge Scholarship Program

*Fellowships for activists to take time off,
go to the woods, and live at a wilderness ranch*

The Refuge Fellowship Program was established to honor outstanding career activists and organizers working in the public interest. Environmental and social activists are awarded fellowships to live for two weeks at the Vallecitos Mountain Refuge, a magnificent wilderness ranch located high in the Rocky Mountains near Taos, New Mexico. The Refuge Program has no agenda, schedule or course of study. It is a time for going to the woods, taking refuge in the Earth, and living deliberately.

To qualify you must have at least ten years experience as an activist and a demonstrated capacity for leadership. This is a full scholarship and pays all the costs of your two week residency. People of color are strongly encouraged to apply.

To apply, please write for a short application form. The deadline for application is April 15, 1997.

Vallecitos Mountain Refuge, POB 1507, Taos, New Mexico 87571; (505) 751-0351, fax 751-1775.

Desert Gathering to Save Ward Valley

April 25-27

Come celebrate Earth Day and help defend a beautiful corner of California's East Mojave Desert. The nuclear power industry, with the support of California's Governor Pete Wilson, plans to put a nuclear waste dump at Ward Valley. The dump would bury long-lived and dangerous radioactive wastes from nuclear power reactors in shallow, unlined trenches above an aquifer 18 miles from the Colorado River, which is critical habitat for the threatened desert tortoise. Ward Valley is surrounded by wilderness areas including the Bigelow Cholla Cactus Garden covering hundreds of acres of volcanic foothills and the Old Woman Mountains, where petroglyphs can be found near ancient dwellings.

Ward Valley has long been considered sacred territory by the Fort Mojave, Chemehuevi, Cocopah, Quechan and Colorado River Indian tribes. A diverse coalition of activists from Native American tribes and environmental and social justice groups have been fighting this project for ten years.

In the next few months, Congress will likely try to pass legislation to force the dump on California, exempt the project from all existing environmental laws, and preclude the public's right to challenge the dump in the courts. We must press our representatives to protect the Colorado River, endangered species and indigenous rights.

The gathering will include strategy meetings, informational workshops, nonviolence trainings, music, ecology walks and tours of the proposed dump site. The lower Colorado River Indian Tribes and other groups will present cultural events such as traditional song and dance, storytelling and a Spirit Run through Ward Valley. All are welcome.

Come camp in Ward Valley on the edge of a wilderness area, where we arranged for people to meet in large tents and sleep under the stars. Organizers will provide food, water and sanitation. Bring a tent or camper, utensils and camping gear; other accommodations or supplies are in Needles, 20 miles to the east.

For more information contact the Bay Area Nuclear (BAN) Waste Coalition at 2760 Golden Gate, SF, CA 94118; (415) 752-8678 or (415) 868-2146. You can also contact Greenpeace at (415) 512-9025, SAVE WARD VALLEY at (619) 326-6267, or the Fort Mojave Indian tribe at (619) 326-4591.

Wild Rockies EF! Rendezvous

May 8-11

Boise National Forest

Come network, strategize and enjoy the splendor of an area where wolves still run free in the threatened Deadwood Roadless Area. For more information contact the Salmon River Coalition at (208) 345-8077.

1997 EF! Round River Rendezvous

The 1997 EF! Round River Rendezvous will take place June 27-July 6 in the Nicolet National Forest of north-east Wisconsin. The RRR is taking place amidst an ongoing struggle to stop the mining industry from turning the North Woods into an industrialized nightmare. To find out how you can help spread the word, arrange rides, set up camp, contact the RRRendezvous Committee at 731 State St., Madison, WI 53711; (608) 250-8378. (More details will appear in the next EF! Journal.)



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Siskiyou Ecology Conference

May 30-June 1

The Belt Building, Kirby, Oregon

This is the first conference on the ecology of the Siskiyou and Klamath Mountains. Presentations will cover a broad spectrum of topics, including past and current research on regional flora and fauna, the botanical significance of the area, unique geological features and historical changes influencing the integrity of the region. There will also be educational workshops and field trips to areas of ecological interest.

Keynote speeches will discuss the natural history of serpentine vegetation in the Siskiyou and the history of botanical exploration in the Siskiyou.

For registration information, contact Jennifer Beigel or Erik Jules at the Siskiyou Regional Education Project, POB 220, Cave Junction, OR 97523; (541) 592-4459; e-mail: ejules@umich.edu; http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~bartj/siskiyou.

Save the environment

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Every issue of E is jam-packed with solid, up-to-date news and feature stories on key environmental issues and trends — PLUS loads of resources and lifestyle tips to help you on your way to being part of the solution.

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HUMANURE HANDBOOK A GUIDE TO COMPOSTING HUMAN MANURE

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NATIONAL DAYS OF ACTION

No More Roads in our National Forests!

MAY 29

On May 29, activists all over the country will participate in protests aimed at the USFS, calling for **No More Roads in our National Forests!**

The USFS has already constructed over 386,000 miles of roads in our National Forests. This is the equivalent of about 14 times the circumference of the earth, or about one and one-half trips to the moon. This is also over eight times the length of the Interstate Highway System. This makes the USFS the biggest (socialized) road building organization in the world.

We need wholesale, radical change in the way our National Forests are managed, and we need it now. Take a break from putting out brush fires, and on May 29 go to the USFS office nearest you. Tell them how you feel. The USFS has been able to fool too many people for too long, and we can't rest until every East coast yuppie and Oregon sixth-grader knows that Smokey has been a very bad bear.

For more information on the No More Roads day of action, look for a follow-up announcement in the next issue of the *Journal*.

Protest 100 Years of Public-Land Logging

JUNE 4

Why: Because American taxpayers spent \$1 billion last year to get 4% of its timber supply from OUR public land. We sold it for \$3 billion below market value, providing a total subsidy of nearly \$4.4 billion for the wholesale destruction of our natural heritage. There is no reason to continue logging on our public lands! Restricting exports, minimizing waste, and developing alternative fibers for paper can make up the difference many times over.



When: June 4, 1997. This the 100th anniversary of the signing of the first "logging rider" that opened the public's federal forests to commercial logging.

Where: Everywhere... organize a coordinated action near you!

Who: You!

We need your input and ideas and we need them now!

For information, literature, educational videos, planning and media support, contact Protect Our Public Lands, POB 25431, Eugene, OR 97402; (541) 461-TREE (8733); zerocut2@aol.com.

WATERMELON AND TOMATO TOUR

This guy never stops touring. Singer/songwriter **ROBERT HOYT** is slowly working his way to the East after beginning this tour in the Southwest. Robert has added Boston-based folksinger **DAVID ROVICS** on bass guitar to this tour. Rovics' witty antics and vast knowledge of labor history will add a new flavor to Robert's already great show. They are calling it the Watermelon and Tomato tour because Robert is an enviro (green on the outside, red in the middle?), and David is a commie (red through and through).

There are a few holes in this schedule, which he'd love to fill by playing in your town. Please call Robert's voicemail at (404) 373-8289 to set up a date.

Once again, this movement is more than banners and lobbying—it's about sustaining a healthier culture. PLEASE SUPPORT MOVEMENT MUSICIANS.

Here are his tour dates (* means tentative):

APRIL

4	Indianapolis, IN	Butler University @ 7 p.m.
5	Bloomington, IN	Wild Beat @ 6 p.m.
10	Chestertown, MD	Andy's Coffeehouse @ 9:30 p.m.
11	Shepherdstown, WV	Shepherds College
17*	Raritan, NJ	Raritan Valley Community College @ noon
22	Cincinnati, OH	Univ. Cincinnati @ noon
24	Hamilton, NY	Colgate University @ 7 p.m.
26	Middlebury, VT	Middlebury College
29	Burlington, VT	University Vermont

MAY

1	Boston, MA	Passim
3	Rutland, VT	Wildwood Music Coop
4	North Hampton, MA	Fire & Water
8*	Philadelphia, PA	The A Space
10	Mt. Rainier, MD (DC)	Joe's Movement Emporium
15	Asheville, NC	TBA
16	Decatur, GA	Freightroom @ 9 p.m. (w/Joanne Rand)

NE Regional Rendezvous—May 2-5

New Hampshire and Maine EF! invite you to our 2nd annual spring melt campfire on May Day weekend in the White Mountain National Forest. Come visit your elder cousins, white pine, hemlock and yellow birch, and strategize on stopping their imminent destruction. Yes!, eastern old-growth forests!

More fun! Big rally and solar CD, April 26 at Seabrook, NH. Celebrate and remember the resistance on the 20th anniversary of the mass occupation of Seabrook nuke site (1,414 arrested).

For details and maps to the NE Rendezvous, contact ME EF! at POB 183, Harmony, ME 04942. For information about the anti-nuke rally or the NE Rendezvous, contact NH EF!, POB 4101, Portsmouth, NH 03802; (603) 942-5863.

NWRendezvous—May 23-26

On Memorial Day weekend, the Blue Mountains of northeastern Oregon will host this year's Northwest Rendezvous. The rendezvous will begin on Friday, May 23, and conclude on Monday, Memorial Day. As is customary, an action is likely to take place on Tuesday, so mark your calendars for five days of forest fun. Join us in the beautiful Blue Mountains for a long weekend of meetings, music and movement merriment.

In the aftermath of the infamous Salvage Rider, the forests of eastern Oregon remain the target of "forest health" fanatics. With large tracts of Ponderosa pine and Douglas fir, eastern Oregon forests contain invaluable habitat for numerous threatened and endangered species. (For more information on the threats to eastern Oregon forests see "Eastern Oregon Forest Alert" in the November-December, 1996, EF!J.)

For more information on the NWRendezvous look for a follow-up announcement in the next issue of the *Journal*. To sign up to give a workshop or performance, call (541) 741-9191.

ACTION AGAINST GENETICALLY ALTERED FOOD

APRIL 21-26

The Foundation on Economic Trends, the Pure Food Campaign and activists from around the world invite you to participate in global days of action against genetically engineered foods and crops. During the week of April 21-26, consumer, farm and public interest organizations from over 40 nations will be holding simultaneous protests, press conferences and "grain dumps" in front of supermarkets, corporate headquarters and government offices. The plan is to strengthen the growing global boycott against the forced commercialization of unlabeled, untested, gene-altered corn and soybeans (Monsanto's "Roundup Ready" Soybeans, Ciba-Geigy's "Maximizer" Bt Corn) and other biotech foods and crops.

The April global days of action will be the first coordinated international actions against agricultural biotechnology and genetically engineered foods, and the event is shaping up to be one of the first serious challenges mounted against the New World Order of GATT and the World Trade Organization.

To organize a protest, press conference or "grain or gene-food dump," select a suitable time and location and line up a range of speakers. These events should be held in front of grocery stores, corporate headquarters (Monsanto, Cargill, Archer Daniels Midland, Ciba-Geigy/Novartis, etc.), or government offices (regulatory agencies, the US Embassy, etc.). Speakers should be followed by a dramatic "finale" by dumping large sacks of corn and soybeans or sample tainted or "suspect" consumer food products containing gene-food soy or corn, into a barrel (plastered with boycott posters, signs, banners leaflets, etc.), or onto the streets or sidewalks.

Let us accelerate a "peoples grassroots globalization" on April 21-26, which will coincide with Earth Day activities in the US as well as the "Five Years After the Rio Summit" reevaluation by the United Nations. If you want to organize a joint action/press conference in your country or local area, please contact the USA Pure Food Campaign office at (218) 226-4164 or (218) 226-4155; fax (218) 226-4157, e-mail alliance@mr.net; <http://www.geocities.com/athens/1527>.

National Conference on Habitat Conservation Plans May 17-18

Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, DC

The Clinton administration is rapidly negotiating hundreds of Habitat Conservation Plans (HCPs) with landowners across the country to resolve endangered species conflicts. The National Wildlife Federation (NWF) has invited on-the-ground experts on HCP implementation from environmental groups, government, and regulated interests to the National HCP Conference to offer views on what works and what needs to be fixed. NWF has also invited nationally-respected academic experts to share the results of their research along with their own HCP experiences. The conference is open to all interested individuals, including environmentalists, landowners, policy makers and concerned citizens. Information-sharing, and debate will be strongly encouraged.

The registration fee for the conference is \$79 and includes meals. A \$45 rate is available for students. Registration forms must be received by May 9. To register, contact the National HCP Conference, NWF, 8925 Leesburg Pike, Vienna, VA 22184; e-mail: hunter@nwf.org. Or, if you are able to receive faxes, use our fax-on-demand system by dialing (202) 797-6644 and requesting document number 111. For registration or hotel information, call Jeffrey Hunter at (703) 790-4093; for information about the program or HCP issues, call Bill Howard at (202) 797-5485.

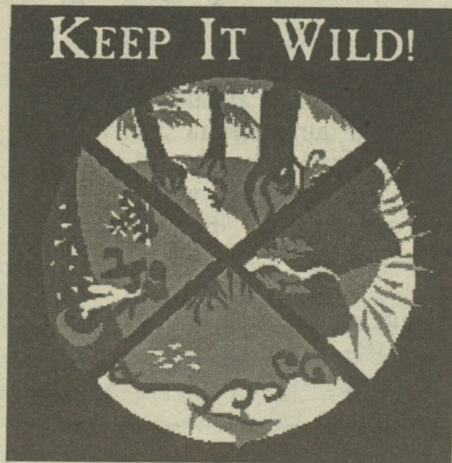
The NWF is making available a limited amount of funds to reimburse travel costs for those who demonstrate need. Call (703) 790-4093 or e-mail action@nwf.org with "HCP Conference Travel Stipend" in the subject line. If funds are still available after March, they will be awarded based on a first-come-first-serve basis for those who qualify.

LOTS OF NEW ECO-MUSIC Now in stock!

All music and merchandise prices include shipping

KEEP IT WILD! NEW!

14 songs from seven of our favorite EF! musicians: Darryl Cherney, Alice Di Micele, Robert Hoyt, Dana Lyons, Casey Neill, Peg Millett and Joanne Rand. Mixed by Robert Hoyt, designed by EF!ers, and packaged in recycled pulp with vegetable ink. "Keep It Wild!" TV God; The Beaver Song; Flaming Arrows; Live Like a Prayer; Remember Me; Earth First!; Bottom of the Land, Phil
TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17



AUSTIN LOUNGE LIZARDS

Marvelous country-bluegrass satire. Lizard wit must be heard to be fully appreciated and laughed at. "Lizard Vision" LIVE! Brain Damage, Jesus Loves Me (But He Can't Stand You) TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17
"Paint Me on Velvet" Grandpa's Hologram, Lusts' Motel, Paint Me on Velvet TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17
"Highway Cafe of the Damned" Industrial Strength Tranquilizer, Acid Rain, Dallas/Texas, When Drunks Go Bad TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17
"Creatures From the Black Saloon" Saguario, Anahuac, Hot Tubs of Tears, Old & Fat & Drunk TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17

DARRYL CHERNEY

No one can create a campaign song as fast as Darryl. He's a campfire favorite. "Timber" Arizona Power Lines, Earth Night Action, Which Side Are You On?, Who Bombed Judi Bari? TAPE—\$12
"They Sure Don't Make Hippies Like They Used To!" Free the Dead, Spike a Tree For Jesus, We're All Dead Ducks, Xerox the Money TAPE—\$12
"I Had to Be Born This Century" Earth First!, Mosquito Party, It's CAMP, Ballad of the BLM TAPE—\$12

ALICE DI MICELE

Alice is arguably the Northwest's most talented singer/songwriter. Her voice and lyrics cut straight to your heart. "Naked" Trouble in Mind, Make it Last, The TV Song, Out of Control, Pretty Blue TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17
"Searching" Defend the Earth, Land of Broken Promises, Lift Us Up TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17
"Too Controversial" American Dream, I Won't Say Good-bye, Everybody Needs to be Free TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17
"It's a Miracle" All or Nothing, Not for Sale, The God in You, First Snow, The Beaver Song TAPE—\$12
"Make a Change" Let it Rain, Wise Old Woman, Leonard Peltier, Dis-mantle, In a Gentle Way TAPE—\$12

TIMOTHY HULL NEW!

An uplifting travelog of environmental activism, Timothy's music invokes the spirit of the wild. "Brightness on Brightness" Brightest Angel, Twilight Songs, Tough Reckoning, No Destinations CD—\$17

¡TCHKUNG! NEW!

Didjeridu, samples, electronic noise, shouts, body alterations, sequencing, toms, timbale, hubcap, washing machine tub, graphics, 12-gauge pump, big drums, flute, shanai, grinder, scrap metal, video, rants, bullshit, snare, doumbec(s), 40-gal. drums, nagara, lighting, violin, voice, o-daiko, moving image, harmonies, bass, sonic textures, electronics and batterie. That's all. "Post World Handbook" Dijamy, Crashing the System, Feral, Solidarity, Chao-wera, Circus Loopis, Férál, Truckstop, Clearcut, Hall of the Khan, Bou Jeloud CD—only \$15



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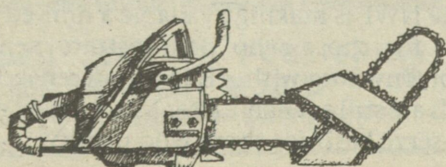
Green, psychedelic music that advocates monkey-wrenching, vegetarianism and hemp. "Don't Spare the Green Love" Spare the Wrench Surrender the Earth, My Mind's Mine, Gaia, Impaled CD—\$12
"Ethos Music" Earth First!, Only Protest Gives a Hope of Life, Reevaluate Life!, Disemboweling Party CD—\$12

ROBERT HOYT

Robert has impressed numerous audiences with his virtuoso guitar playing and homegrown lyrics. "Dumpster Diving Across America" Gasoline and Coffee, Trees, Quittin' Time, Hemlock Grove, Why Should I Care TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17
"As American As You" Apple Pie, Red Mud, Good Americans, It's One of Ours, Enough, Shovelin' Mud NOW ON CD! TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17

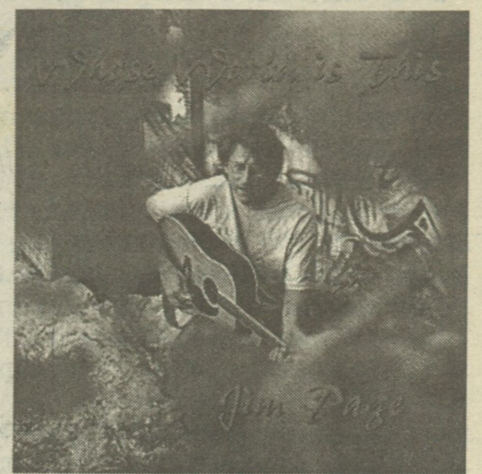
GREG KEELER

Goofy, intelligent, country-western parody, Keeler's songs poke fun at everything worth poking fun at. "Enquiring Minds" An Excuse to Go Drinkin', House Husband Blues, Forest Circus, Planet of Morons TAPE—\$9
"Post-Modern Blues" Lament of the Laundromat; P-U-B-L-I-C L-A-N-D-S; Swiss Army Beatitudes TAPE—\$9
"Bad Science Fiction" Cow College Calypso, Nuclear Waste Blues, If Bears Could Whistle, Nuclear Dioxin Queen, Duct Tape Psalm TAPE—\$9
"Talking Sweet Bye & Bye" There'll Come a Revolution, Facilitators from the Sky, Ski Yellowstone, Death Valley Days, Idaho, Little Bitty Bugs TAPE—\$9
"Songs of Fishing, Sheep and Guns in Montana" Drinkin' My Blues Away, Fossil Fuel Cowboy, Last Great American Cookout TAPE—\$9



JIM PAGE NEW!

A witty and talented songwriter, Jim is sure to open your mind and your heart. "More Than Anything Else In The World" A Sign of the Times, Valdez, Gays in the Military, Sinead, Bishop on the Run, Wages of History CD—\$17
"Whose World is This" Take Our Culture Back, Righteous, Beautiful Tear, Right to be Wrong, Only Talkin' on the Radio, Tina CD—\$17



IF A TREE FALLS NEW!

John Trudell, Zero, Robert Hoyt, Joanne Rand, Bruce Cockburn, Hank Williams, Jr., Buffy Sainte-Marie, Dan Fogelberg, Jello Biafra & Mojo Nixon, The Tinklers, Darryl Cherney, Alice Di Micele, The Wyrd Sisters, Ferron, and Rumors of the Big Wave! Nuff said. "If a Tree Falls" TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17

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"Animal" RV, I Am an Animal, Building One in My City, I Saw His Body, Timebomb, The Tree TAPE—\$12
"At Night they Howl at the Moon—Environmental Songs for Kids" (WITH JOHN SEED) Willy the Wombat, The Tree, We Don't Want to Live in the Zoo TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17

PEG MILLETT

Longtime EF! activist and convicted monkey-wrencher, Peg has one of the most beautiful voices you'll ever hear. "Clear Horizon" Living Planet, Testimony, Walk this Trail, Live Like a Prayer TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17
"Gentle Warrior" Forever Wild, High Plateau, There is Power, What's Left of the West, Wild Things TAPE—\$12

NED MUDD AND HIS RUSTIC BAND

Ned's music is neither technically nor politically correct. Many of the songs were recorded in a burned-out warehouse; but, hey, they sound great! "Fine Time in America" Suburbia Blues, Gone are the Days, Nation of Sheep, Vacation from the Rest of the World TAPE—only \$8

CASEY NEILL

With inspiring, earthy lyrics and euro-folk guitar, Casey is an EF! favorite (and an awesome dude). "Pawprints" All My Relations, Naked Underneath Your Clothes, Resistance!, The Power, G.O.P. TAPE—\$12
"riffraff" Dancing on the Ruins (of Multinational Corporations), Flaming Arrows, Disorder, The Codfisher TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17

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The bard of Texas sings his witty, rollicking songs in campfire fashion. "Texas Oasis" Have to Have a Habitat, Pretty Paper/Pretty Trees, Shopping Maul, Village Creek TAPE—\$9

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Joanne's strong and versatile voice climbs and dances through her powerful songs. "Choosing Sides" Koyaanisqatsi, Götta Give All You Have, Privileged Class, Our Children's Children, I Love It TAPE—\$12 • CD—\$17
"Home" I'll Be Washed Away, Home, Blood Red, Radiation on My Windshield, Eyes Like Salmon TAPE—\$12
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WALKIN' JIM STOLTZ

Walkin' Jim's deep, powerful voice and wilderness-inspired lyrics will send shivers up your spine and launch a howl in your heart. "The Vision" Wild Wind, Thinking Like a Mountain, The Food Chain Song, Way Out West TAPE—\$9
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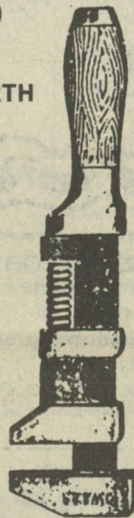
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RED ECHO BLACK GOOSE MUD RACCOONS LIT FISHES NIGHTHAWKS MUD COTTONWOODS HERONS BEAVERS THUNDER MUD STARS BATS

Spring '97 Gathering and Camp Out at

Rowena Wilds

Come join with enviro activists, naturalists, scientists, and others who love all things wild, natural and free in a celebration and renewed hope of saving this magnificent Columbia River Gorge old-growth oak savannah from land speculation and development.

Developer and land speculator Daniel Dancer, an officer of the Central Cascades Allegiance, and purveyor of eco-photography and eco-speak describes Rowena Wilds as a place of giant oaks, rolling hills, mountain lions, and peregrine falcons; a place where elk may cruise by your window; a place nestled beside the wildflower wonderland, the Tom McCall Preserve, along Rowena Creek; a place which provides territorial views of some of nature's finest.

Rowena Wilds is surely a place worthy of saving!

Date: April through June

Location: Take State Road east of Mosier, Oregon, turn west on Dundas Way. Follow the elk trails.

Scheduled events:

Interpretive nature hikes along lovely Rowena Creek and among the "giant oaks" and "wildflower wonderland."

In-the-field workshops on how to protect our old-growth forest, critical wildlife habitat, riparian areas and open space. (Developer and his real estate agents especially requested to participate.)

Evening fireside chats with guest speakers:

Henry Spencer (invited) -- Spencer is the distinguished developer of Lyle Point, located directly across the Columbia from Rowena Wilds. Hopefully Henry can tell us how two years of encampment at the Point by Native Americans and friends, and 25 of their arrests, helped him to become enlightened. Henry and his investment group are now working toward moving Lyle Point in to public ownership--at cost! Cheers!

Jay Lotto (invited) -- Another officer of Central Cascade Allegiance. Hopefully Lotto will be able to share with us what the allegiance is doing to help their officer save Rowena Wilds.

The River People -- Columbia River Natives who continue to lose their cultural identity to land speculation and development can provide information on how to develop a land ethic.

Please respect private property rights. Wasco County required the developer to designate an area for public access and use. Gathering will occur here. Some lots have been sold. Lots should not be trespassed on without the permission of the owner.

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